THE

LIFE OF LORD METCALFE.

THE

LIFE AND CORRESPONDENCE

OF

CHARLES, LORD METCALFE;

LATE GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF INDIA, GOVERNOR OF JAMAICA,
AND GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF CANADA;

FROM

UNPUBLISHED LETTERS AND JOURNALS
PRESERVED BY HIMSELF, HIS FAMILY, AND HIS FRIENDS.

BY

JOHN WILLIAM KAYE,
AUTHOR OF THE "HISTORY OF THE WAR IN AFGHANISTAN."

IN TWO VOLUMES.
VOL. I.

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MDCCCLIV.

DEDICATION.

TO

WILLIAM BUTTERWORTH BAYLEY,

ONE OF THE EARLIEST AND THE LATEST, ONE OF THE MOST LOVED AND MOST RESPECTED

OF

CHARLES METCALFE'S FRIENDS,

THESE VOLUMES

ARE

AFFECTIONATELY INSCRIBED.

PREFACE.

The biography of a statesman to whose care "the three greatest dependencies of the British Crown were successively entrusted," calls for no introduction to explain or to justify the circumstance of its publication. But something may be said, in this place, respecting the materials upon which the present Memoir is based, and the considerations which have influenced the manner of its construction.

When in the autumn of 1846 Lord Metcalfe was mercifully removed from what had long been to him a world of suffering, there was found in his will a special clause, giving and bequeathing to one of his trustees "all his papers, as well those in his own possession as in the hands of his agents, Messrs. Cockerell and Company, consisting principally of private correspondence," to be disposed of by the said trustee under instructions from the testator, and failing such instructions at his own discretion. Lord Metcalfe died, leaving no instructions regarding the papers. They, therefore, became absolutely the property of the trustee, who, after taking counsel with some of the nearest and dearest friends of the deceased, did me the honor to request that I

would take charge of the papers, with the object of founding upon them a Memoir of the life of Lord Metcalfe.

The collection was one of considerable bulk. It comprised several large boxes, containing an immense mass of private letters addressed to Charles Metcalfe, from the time when he was a boy at Eton almost to the very day of his death. Here and there I found a few drafts or copies of letters written by Metcalfe himself, mixed up with those of which he had been the recipient. There were, also, one or two collections of Metcalfe's letters, written in a strain of unreserved confidence and familiarity to intimate private friends, who had died in India, and whose executors had seemingly returned the correspondence to the writer. In addition to these there were some early journals and common-place books—written at Eton, on the voyage to India, or during the first years of the writer's residence in that country; copies of all his letters written whilst on his Mission to Lahore in 1808; of all, or nearly all, his minutes written when a member of the Supreme Government of India; and of his confidential letters and despatches written subsequently from Jamaica and Canada. Nor must I omit to state that there was one large box entirely filled with public addresses of congratulation or condolence—of welcome or farewell—voted to him in the three great dependencies of which he was sometime the head.

After the first hasty examination of these papers, I had little doubt that they had been preserved for

the purpose to which I was about to devote them. Nothing fortifies and encourages a biographer so much as such an assurance as this. Metcalfe had a very early prescience that he was destined to be great. When yet little more than sixteen he wrote, not lightly and jestingly either, of the "fervent biographer," who was to seize upon the traits of character indicated in the self-searching entries in his Common-place Book. But carefully as all these papers had been preserved, and multitudinous as were the records, they were hardly to be regarded as the best, or most legitimate materials of biography. Of the thousands of letters which passed into my hands, there was hardly one which was not of some use, as suggesting an idea, strengthening an impression, contributing something to the full comprehension of a trait of character, or supplying a clue to the elucidation of some incident in Metcalfe's life. Yet the entire collection did not supply complete materials for a biography. Whilst there was a superabundance of letters addressed *to* Lord Metcalfe, there was an obvious want of letters written *by* him. The want, however, was soon supplied. Although some of his most intimate friends and cherished correspondents had either not retained, or had destroyed upon leaving India all the letters they had received from him, or had been deprived of them by some of those moving accidents by flood and field which are the constituents of a stirring Indian career, others had carefully preserved the letters of their friend, and, in some instances, these memorials had survived the recipients of them.

In a little time, either my own inquiries, or those of influential friends who entered heartily into the undertaking, and were eager to contribute all they could to its success, elicited from different quarters all that I desired. There was one collection of early letters preserved by the late Mr. John Walter Sherer, of the Civil Service, one of Metcalfe's earliest friends, which as illustrating a most interesting epoch of his career, the records of which were by no means plentiful, I have found of the greatest service. Some family letters in the possession of Lord Monson—Metcalfe's first cousin—which were freely placed at my disposal, afforded additional materials, for which I am most grateful; whilst others, illustrative of what may be called the mid-career of the writer, were forwarded to me a very little time before his death, by Sir Richard Jenkins, one of the most distinguished of Metcalfe's diplomatic cotemporaries. Of letters relating to a later period, after Metcalfe had become famous, it may be supposed that there was no lack. It is the want of authentic records of early life that is commonly the biographer's great stumbling-block.

It will be seen that I have had no such difficulty to surmount. The records of Metcalfe's early life, some may think, have, in these pages, been unduly amplified. But, rightly or wrongly, what I have done, I have done advisedly—systematically. What is for the most part a necessity often comes in time to be accepted as a rule. But I have not been able to persuade myself that because, in a large number of biographical works, three-fourths of the space is

assigned to the few closing years of a distinguished career—to the record of circumstances illustrative of a great man's made reputation—that this is necessarily the way in which biography ought to be written. Doubtless, however, it is often the way in which it must be written, or not at all. I am inclined to think that the narrative of the steps by which a man has risen to greatness is neither less interesting, nor less instructive, than an account of his achievements after the ladder of public life has been ascended, and he stands on an eminence of popularity before the world;—in a word, that the History of Promise is not less valuable than the History of Performance. The History of a great man's public performances are often part and parcel of the History of the country which he has served. They belong rather, indeed, to the Historian than the Biographer; and though Ignorance may misunderstand, or Party-spirit may misrepresent them, there is little chance of their being overlooked. Not always is that, which is historically the most important, biographically the most interesting. It is the function of the Biographer to supply what is beyond the scope of the Historian. When he reaches that stage of his inquiries at which the history of the individual becomes the history of the country, it would seem to be less his duty to expand than to contract the narrative. At all events, it is not his business to confine his efforts mainly to the illustration of those events which would be known to the public without his assistance.

If I have erred in devoting too much space to the earlier career of Charles Metcalfe, I have done so at

least with design and intention. The first volume embraces the first thirty-five years of his life, including the first twenty years of his official career. In the second volume are contained the annals of the last quarter of a century of his life. It so happened that the last twelve years of his Indian career embraced a season of remarkable historical uneventfulness—a state of quiescence very much the result of those measures which he had advocated with so much energy and ability when in a more subordinate official position. It is well known that Sir Charles Metcalfe liberated the Indian Press. It is well known that he differed from his Council, in Canada, on the question of "Responsible Government." But it is not known how large a share he had in the authorship of those great measures for the consolidation of our Indian Empire, which shed so much lustre on the administration of Lord Hastings, which have preserved the whole continent in peace, and prepared the country for those internal improvements which could take root only in an undisturbed soil and under a quiet sky. During the first twenty years of Metcalfe's Indian career it was his fortune to live in stirring times; and, although in a comparatively subordinate position, the character of his mind and the impress of his opinions were stamped largely upon them. During the whole of the administration of Lord William Bentinck, and the earlier years of Lord Auckland's reign, when Sir Charles Metcalfe occupied a prominent station in the Indian Government, India was lapped in repose. With one or two remarkable exceptions, it

may be said that the history of his public life during that period of his career is to be found in his Council minutes. A collection of these minutes would form one of the most valuable works on the subject of Indian administration that could be given to the public—but it is hardly within the scope of legitimate biography to insert them in these volumes.

At the same time I am not unconscious it may be said that, in some parts of this work, I have myself suffered the biographical to merge into the historical—and such a stricture would not be without justice, so far at least as regards the fact. But here, again, if I have erred, I have erred designedly, and after mature consideration. I am sorry to say that Indian and Colonial biography cannot be tried by the same test as that which is applied to memoirs of English soldiers and statesmen. In the latter case, the biographer may fairly assume the possession by the reader of a certain knowledge of the leading events of English history, to which reference is made in the course of his work. There is no necessity that he should halt to explain who was Napoleon Bonaparte or Daniel O'Connell; or what was the Catholic-Emancipation or the Parliamentary-Reform Bill. But I am afraid that it is necessary to explain who were Dowlut Rao Scindiah and Jeswunt Rao Holkar—what was the position of the King of Delhi after the first Mahratta war—and what the constitution of the Agra Government after the passing of the Charter-Act of 1834. I have had all along an uneasy consciousness, that whilst there are many readers for whom such explanations are

wholly unnecessary, there are others for whom I must explain these things, or leave the narrative of Metcalfe's connexion with them in a state of total obscurity. It is better to err on the side of fulness and perspicuity. I have endeavored to supply just the necessary amount of general information and no more; and as I have drawn the historical portion of the work mainly from original and exclusive sources, I am not without a hope that even the instructed reader will find something in these passages not altogether unworthy of his attention. There are difficulties peculiar to Indian biography. No man will rejoice more than myself when they are removed.

Whenever I have had the opportunity, I have allowed Charles Metcalfe to tell his own story. When the choice has lain before me of using his words or my own, I have always employed the former. I might have made the narrative briefer, but it would have been less authentic. As it is, I feel that I have omitted much illustrative matter, to me of very great interest; and it is not impossible that some readers might wish that certain points of his career had been more minutely elaborated. This, however, more or less, will always be the case. In the present instance, the reproach of such insufficiency is hardly to be escaped, for nothing has been more apparent to me since I commenced this biography, than that there is a remarkable difference of opinion regarding what were the most important epochs of Charles Metcalfe's life. I have seldom found any two men to agree upon the subject. In like manner,

some will think that I have devoted too much space to the Statesman, others, too much to the Man. I have endeavored from first to last to bear in mind that Charles Metcalfe was both. I am not without a hope that those who knew him, as intimately in the one relation as the other, will be the most ready to acknowledge the fidelity of the entire portrait.

My obligations are numerous to those who have spontaneously aided me with valuable materials, or with counsel scarcely less valuable; nor less to others who, in eminent public or private stations, have responded promptly and courteously to applications made to them for permission to make use of correspondence in my possession, in which they have personally or officially had any original or acquired property. If I were to follow only my own inclination, I would make individual acknowledgments of all my obligations, but such expressions of thankfulness it is often more pleasant to utter than to receive; and, perhaps, the most acceptable manifestation of gratitude for the assistance of all kinds that has been rendered to me, will be found in the earnestness with which I have endeavored to turn it to account in the pages of this Biography.

London, August, 1854.

ERRATA IN VOL. I.

Page 249, 8 lines from the bottom, *for* "President," *read* "Resident."
Page 319, line 1, *for* "Mr. Cassamajor," *read* "Mr. Cassamaijor."
Page 351, 4 lines from the bottom, *for* "Gardiner," *read* "Gardner."

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THE

LIFE OF LORD METCALFE.

CHAPTER I.

[1785—1800.]

BOYHOOD.

Birth of Charles Theophilus Metcalfe—The Metcalfe Family—Major Thomas Metcalfe—Theophilus and Charles—Early Days—The School at Bromley—Eton—The Writership—The Voyage to India.

On the 30th of January, 1785, a few days before Warren Hastings ceased to be Governor-General of India, was born in the city of Calcutta to Major Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, of the Bengal Army, and to Susannah his wife, a second son, who in course of time was christened Charles Theophilus. The house in which he was born, was then, and afterwards, known as the "Lecture House."* Whether it still exists, or to what uses it may have since been put, I have not been able to discover.

* My authority for this statement is a letter from Major Metcalfe to his son, written during the first year of Charles's residence in India, in which he says: "I give you some credit for having determined, and I think with some judgment, not to have a room in the Lecture House. Your objections were just, though it required some forbearance—*particularly being the house you were born in.*"

The Metcalfes appear to have been of a good old Yorkshire stock; and to have numbered many members of their family distinguished in their generation. One Thomas Metcalfe was Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, in the reign of Richard the Third. The valor of James Metcalfe displayed in the battle of Agincourt, earned for him the honor of knighthood, and he was dubbed Sir James Metcalfe of Nappa. In the 15th century, another Thomas Metcalfe was High Sheriff of the County, and it is narrated of him, that he rode to the assizes, attended by fifteen Metcalfes, all mounted on white horses. In the reign of Charles the Second, another Metcalfe, Theophilus by name, distinguished himself in another way. He was the first to reduce shorthand writing to a system, and to publish an account of it. He went to London, was rewarded for his invention, and in remembrance of it was especially permitted to add a hand and pen to the heraldic adornments of his family scutcheon. He, or his son, afterwards settled in Ireland, and from him the subject of this Memoir was lineally descended.

I can nowhere find it recorded that Charles Metcalfe was learned in these genealogies, or held his ancestors of any account. But he was greatly and reasonably proud of his father. That father was the son of Thomas Metcalfe, an officer of the King's Army, who married the daughter of the Reverend Thomas Williams. At an early age he was despatched as a cadet to India, with a letter of introduction to Lord Clive; but any expectations he may have based upon it were disappointed, for the great man had left the country before young Met-

calfe's arrival. So the friendless boy was thrown upon his own resources, and for a time so cheerless was his situation, and so sombre his prospects, that he determined to leave the service, and actually called upon the commanding-officer of his regiment to tender his resignation. An accident caused him to abandon the intention as hastily as he had formed it;* and from that time he determined to achieve success by a steadfast course of professional perseverance.

And in due time he did achieve it. Those were days in which rapid fortunes were sometimes made by lucrative Government contracts. It seems that Thomas Metcalfe soon contrived to detach himself from the go-cart of regimental routine, and to obtain employment on the Staff. He was for several years "Agent for Military Stores;" and it was doubtless in this situation that in course of time he made a respectable fortune.†

Whilst thus Thomas Metcalfe, having risen through the different gradations of the service up to the rank of Major, was supplying the army with stores and making a fortune, he took unto himself a wife. In the year 1782 he married the widow of a Major Smith, of the Bengal Army. Five or six years before, this lady, then Susannah Debonnaire, daughter of a gentleman resident at the Cape of Good Hope, had gone out with a sister to join her father in that settlement; but it was deemed expedient that the

* Major Metcalfe's own version of this anecdote is given in a subsequent chapter, page 75. He was a cadet of 1767.

† The fact stated in the text is given on the authority of the Company's Records, whence it was extracted for me by Mr. Waud, under whose admirable arrangements all the historical wealth of the India House has been rendered peculiarly accessible to the student.

young ladies should pursue their voyage to Madras, where Lord Pigot, a friend of Mr. Debonnaire, was then Governor of the Presidency. Between the Cape and the coast her sister died, under very melancholy circumstances, and she narrowly escaped a similar fate. Arriving, however, alive, though in shattered health, at Madras, she attracted the regards of Major Smith, to whom she was married in August, 1776, and soon afterwards proceeded with her husband to Bengal. He died, leaving no issue; and in 1782 the widow became the attached and devoted wife of Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe.

The eldest son, born on 19th of September, 1783, was called Theophilus John; the second, as I have said, Charles Theophilus. They were very young when their parents returned to England. Soon after his arrival, Major Metcalfe bought a house in Portland-place, and began to canvass for a seat in the Direction of the East India Company. He was a man of active business habits, good sterling common sense, and an integrity beyond all impeachment. Altogether he was a reliable man. In process of time he became, as he intended, an East-India Director.* Then he bethought himself of obtaining a seat in Parliament; and in due course he was returned for the borough of Abingdon, which he represented in several Parliaments. A loyal gentleman, a Tory, and a staunch supporter of William Pitt, on whose recommendation, in 1802, he was created a Baronet, he was an active and assiduous, rather than a brilliant member of the House of Commons. But he

* At the general election in April, 1789.

often spoke, and with good effect, bringing his sound practical sense and his extensive experience to bear on many of the questions of the day; but more especially on those relating to the conduct of our Indian affairs. He was also an active Director of the Globe Insurance Company in days when Insurance Offices were few, and to be a Director of such a Company was esteemed an honor by men of high repute. He had brought with him no languor or lassitude from the East; and altogether was as robust a man of business as if he had never wiped the baked dust of Calcutta out of his blinded eyes.

He had several children born to him, of whom five survived their childhood. They were brought up, with a sensible kind of indulgence, under the eye of their mother, who was a woman of strong understanding, and of great sincerity of character. Her affection for her children seldom displayed itself in any maternal weaknesses, but was manifested in an eager desire to advance their worldly interests, whatever might be the immediate sacrifice of self. If she had any partialities, they were in favor of her eldest son, Theophilus—a fine manly boy, of whom frequent mention will be made in subsequent portions of this narrative.

Of the infant days of Charles Metcalfe little is known beyond what he afterwards recorded of himself. He seems to have encountered, like most other children at the threshold of life, the great stumbling-block of an unprincipled or an injudicious nurse. "The woman to whom my infant years were entrusted," he wrote in a Common-place Book which

he kept in his youth, "used to convey me, by way of punishment, to a dark room, and representing the coming of the *Old Man* (a famous bugbear in the mouths of nurses) as every minute to be expected. Here was I left, whilst probably the foolish woman would groan and make use of several other means to terrify me. The consequence was, that throughout my childish and boyish years, I was a prey to the most horrid fears; and such an effect has this treatment had on my imagination, that I am even now much weaker on this point than I could wish to be." So often are the nursery annals of great men, and of little, contained in such sentences as these, that I might almost have recorded them without a misgiving, even if I had not found them written down by the hand of Charles Metcalfe himself.

At an early age Charles Metcalfe was sent to school at Bromley, in Middlesex. The establishment was kept by a Mr. Tait. How it was obtained I do not know, but this gentleman had a considerable "Indian connexion;" and among his pupils were divers Pattles, and Plowdens, and others bearing names with which East-Indian Registers have long been familiar. It was partly on this account, and partly, perhaps, because some members of Mrs. Metcalfe's family resided in the neighbourhood of Bromley, that Mr. Tait's academy was fixed upon as the first training-house for the young Metcalfes. Its recommendations were, I believe, chiefly of an extrinsic character. Scholastically, perhaps, there was not very much to be said in its favor.

To this period of Charles Metcalfe's early career there are but few allusions in his letters and journals. In 1841, nearly half a century after he had been boarded and birched at good Mr. Tait's, being then Governor of an important Crown colony, he wrote to a near relative, in answer to some family inquiries: "I remember, at Bromley, a fine-looking old gentleman, of the name of Debonnaire, who, with his family, occupied the pew in church next to that of our school, and whose broad shoulders and peculiar coat of remarkable pattern are impressed on my memory. I quitted Bromley in September, 1795. I also remember 'Aunt Winch,' as she was called, who used to board and lodge in Tait's house, and had my brother Theophilus and myself sometimes in her room. I paid her and the school at Bromley a farewell visit on my departure from England for India, on which occasion she gave me 2*l.*, encumbered with a laudable injunction to purchase the Whole Duty of Man. . . . . I have a faint impression that the Lefevres, whom I then understood to be relatives of the Debonnaires, had been the occupants of the house then in Tait's possession, which had some old ceilings of carved wood that we boys used to think very fine."

From Charles Metcalfe's own recorded reminiscences little more can be gathered regarding his sojourn at the Bromley School. His surviving schoolfellows are not many; but I am told that he was then a boy of a reserved and retiring nature, and that the more showy qualities of his elder brother entirely shone him down. It is remembered that

Mrs. Metcalfe would pay occasional visits to the school; and it was well known even to the boys that Theophilus was the mother's favorite. Among the most memorable incidents of that period of Charles Metcalfe's life, was the preparation of a dramatic entertainment, which caused great excitement for many weeks in the school. The play was *Julius Cæsar;* and there was a great show of people to witness the performance. Theophilus Metcalfe played Mark Antony. To Charles were assigned the two humble parts of Flavius and Friend to Brutus.*

After the Christmas holidays of 1795-96, Charles Metcalfe being then just eleven years old, was entered at Eton. He went to that famous seminary as an Oppidan, and boarded with his tutor, Mr. Goodall, afterwards head-master and provost of the college. Dr. Heath was then preceptor-in-chief. As at the private school, so at the public, he was known as a quiet, retiring boy. He was not celebrated for his adroitness in any athletic exercises. He was neither a cricketer nor a boater. I am not sure that he ever played at fives. But it is on record, and on very sufficient authority, that he was once seen riding on a camel. "I heard the boys shouting," said Dr. Goodall, many years afterwards, "and went out and saw young Metcalfe riding on a camel; so you see he was always Orientally inclined."

Many who knew Charles Metcalfe will, doubtless,

* A printed play-bill, containing a list of the *Dramatis Personæ* and the names of the performers, was preserved by Charles Metcalfe to the latest day of his life.

accept the worthy Doctor's interpretation of this feat, for such gymnastic achievements were not at all in the young gentleman's way. It is not even on record that, in those early days, he ever trusted himself on the back of a pony. He was, at all times of his life, so miserable a horseman, that he seldom took equestrian exercise for any length of time without falling off and hurting himself. So that, except upon the hypothesis that the boy was Orientally inclined, it is not easy to account for the camel-riding exploit of the studious Etonian.

He was very studious, indeed, at Eton. He went there when he was eleven years of age, and left when he was only fifteen. But Goodall was always of opinion that Metcalfe *minor* was a boy of very high promise; and, perhaps, there was not among his many pupils one to whom he was more sincerely attached. The affection was reciprocal. And it was lasting. Death only put a period to it.

When it is said that Charles Metcalfe was studious, it is not meant that he merely learnt his lessons—that he sapped at Latin and Greek, got up his derivations, wrote lyrics with great success, and was sometimes sent up for good. Doubtless, all this was done in the common course of things. But a boy may accomplish all this at Eton and still have much time for the playing-fields or the river. Neither had any charms for Metcalfe. His play-hours were spent for the most part in-doors. He read English, he read French, he read Italian. He wrote poetry. He was fond of drawing. Already was he becoming somewhat prone to disputation. A whole holiday

was for him of value only as it gave him more time to puzzle over "Rowley's" poems, to read Gibbon, or to translate Ariosto and Rousseau.

Towards the close of his career at Eton he began to keep a journal.* His entries in it exhibit clearly the studious life that he led. They exhibit, too, something more than this. The annals of his last month at Eton afford some curious indications of the resolution of the boy—of his disposition to do what he afterwards called "holding out" against opposition. It appears that, in defiance of their tutor's orders, Metcalfe and some other boys were determined to drink tea in each other's rooms after the hour prescribed by authority. Some of the entries in the following passages relate to this act of sedition:

JOURNAL BEGAN IN MARCH, 1800.

"*Monday*, 3*rd*.—Whole school-day. Not well. Wrote an anecdote to the editor of the *Naval Chronicle*. Drank tea after six in Hervey's room, according to agreement. Afraid the plan of bringing in that custom won't succeed. Passed the evening in Hervey's room. Supped with Neville; went to bed full of turkey.

Tuesday, 4*th*.—Whole holiday. Not well. Employed at verses; good theme. Read the 'Age of Louis XIV.' Mem. Write to the editor of the *Military Journal*. Heard of Parson Grey's being drunk. Drank tea solo. Finished verses; gave to tutor; he liked them. Passed the remainder of the evening in Neville's room, reading.

* On the cover of his first diary the young journalist wrote: "First conceived the idea of this journal on the 1st of March; intend not only to make it a relation of facts, but also to intersperse it with observations, reflections, &c. &c.; so that it will be the general rendezvous not only of my actions, but my thoughts."—C. T. M.

Wednesday, 5th. — Whole school-day. Did translation. Drank tea in Neville's room, according to agreement, after six. My hopes gain on my fears, though the latter are still predominant. Re-translated four pages of my translation from Rousseau. Passed the rest of the evening in Neville's room, between reading and rowing.

Thursday, 6th.—Half-holiday. Wrote a letter. Tonson sat in my room one hour and a half. Adjourned to Spires's. Tutor jawed about drinking tea after six. Drank tea with Tonson. Drew. Passed the remainder of the evening in Neville's room.

Friday, 7th.—Whole school-day. Drank tea with Shaw, according to our convention, after six. Tutor jawed with great spirit. Destruction of our plan must in the end come on; we are at our last struggle; all our endeavors now are the exertions of despair, and we must only think how to resign nobly; in such cases as these, unanimity is required to obtain success, and that has not been obtained. Did Greek with my tutor. The remainder of the night in Neville's room.

Saturday, 8th.—Common Saturday. Saw Rooke just going to Ireland, and thence expects a trip to France. Gave Nepean tea. Passed the evening in Neville's room, reading. Finished Voltaire's 'Life of Louis XIV.' Mem. Follow up the inquiry about the Iron Mask; ask my tutor to lend me Gibbon.

Sunday, 9th.—Did theme. Read Ariosto with Melville and Shaw; make laws for the sake of due attention to the book.

Monday, 10th.—Whole school-day; did some Homer. Mem. These epic poets are very free in their ideas; for instance, in the 290th line of the Book εψιλον, Æneas has got a stone in his hand in the act of throwing it at Achilles, who is rushing with his sword drawn on Æneas; but Neptune, who perceives destruction impending over Æneas, is determined to ward it off; accordingly addresses the other gods in a speech of sixteen lines, to which Juno makes answer in one of nine; in the mean time, we must suppose the stone pendent in the air, and Achilles in the act of rushing forward, but both very com-

plaisantly waiting till their godships have finally decided. Perhaps it would have been better to have introduced Minerva with her ægis, turning these heroes into stone till the speeches were done with. To be sure, that would be comprehensible, whereas the other idea is so sublime as to be above the weak understanding of us mortals. Gave tea to Neville, Hervey, and Shaw, after six, according to agreement. Had a most tremendous jaw from my tutor, who said nothing but that it was a serious inconvenience, but could not bring one argument to prove that it was so. After supper did verses.

Tuesday, 11*th*.—Whole holiday. Gave Lamb breakfast. Finished verses. Gave Tonson tea. Began a French letter. Read Ariosto with Neville and Shaw. Begun 'Life of Charles the Twelfth.'

Wednesday, 12*th*.—General fast. Drank tea with Shaw. Read Ariosto with Neville and Shaw.

Thursday, 13*th*.—Play at four. Read some of Lucan and Cicero. Drew. Read Ariosto with Neville and Shaw. Read Voltaire's 'Life of Charles XII.'

Friday, 14*th*.—Read part of Horace's 'Art of Poetry.' Whole school-day. Read some Lucan. Drank tea with Hervey after six. We have conquered; and my tutor, not finding an argument against us, was obliged to consent; so that now we do it lawfully. Had it not been for our last despairing struggles we should have failed. Read the continuation of the 'Iron Mask' (which Voltaire mentions in his 'Siècle de Louis XIV.') in Gibbon. It is most probably, as he says, a son of Cardinal Mazarin and Anne of Austria, as indeed I think there are strong suspicions that Louis XIV. was. Read Gibbon's 'Antiquities of the House of Brunswick and Este.' Read Gibbon's 'Observations on Bishop Warburton's Explanation of his Sixth Book of the Æneid.' Read part of Gibbon's 'Journal;' and finished Voltaire's 'Life of Charles XII.'

Saturday, 15*th*.—Common Saturday. Read Lucan. Greek Testament. Read Rowley's 'Poems.' Gave Shaw tea. Passed the evening in Hervey's room.

Sunday, 16*th*.—Learnt 'Fourth Satire' of Juvenal for my tutor. Read Rowley's 'Poems.' Gave Grose tea. Did verses.

Monday, 17*th*.—Whole holiday. Read Rowley's 'Poems.' Drank tea with Nepean. Did some lyrics.

Tuesday, 18*th*.—Whole school-day. Read Homer. Cicero. Finished Rowley's 'Poems.' Drank tea with Shaw. Finished lyrics. Translated three pages of Rousseau.

Wednesday, 19*th*.—Whole school-day. Read Homer. Virgil. Read a dissertation on Rowley's Poems, tending to prove from the language that they were not written in the 15th century, but by Chatterton. Gave Neville, Hervey, and Shaw tea. Wrote a letter. Entered into a train of thoughts on public schools in general, and Eton in particular. I conceive the advantages of a public school to be so great, that I shall here take an opportunity of enumerating them. Many have objected to a public education, with the idea that it gives an inclination to extravagance, dissipation, and vice, which would never be acquired in private schools. I will not pretend absolutely to deny it; but still, how much more dangerous is it to rush from the close constraint of a private education to the unbounded liberty of the world; in a public school the chains are relaxed by degrees, and by imperceptible gradations we arise at perfect freedom. At the head of one of these schools every one is so much master of himself that he feels no extraordinary emotions on entering into life, being accustomed to the liberty which is increased in a very small degree by that event. Secondly, at a public school every vice and every virtue which we meet with in the world is practised, although in miniature every deception is triflingly displayed which one would be open to in life; we learn to abhor vice, consequently shun it; we learn to admire virtue, consequently imitate it; we learn to beware of deception, consequently to avoid it; in short, a public school is but a humble imitation of the theatre of the world; it is what one conceives of a drama acted by boys, where the actors are small. On the contrary, the sudden transition from a private school into life is too quick, the contrast too great; unaware of deception, we are

liable to it; ignorant of vice, we are led into it; not having the practice of virtue before our eyes, we know not what it is. Thirdly, where is that emulation at a private which is the great actor in a public school? The praise of others naturally excites us to wish for the same ourselves, and to obtain it we must deserve it; if a friend or a rival be superior to us in some respects, we naturally wish to render him inferior; if inferior, we naturally wish to maintain our superiority; this is the great stimulus to industry, and, consequently, virtue, for industry is the parent of all virtue; this is the stimulus which acts as well in youth as manhood; it guides us through life to glorious and virtuous deeds. In a private education the mind is clogged, and feels not these happy incitements; it has not that field for ambition which a public one has. Fourthly, the very freedom, the very pleasures of a public school, which have been so constantly objected to it, are additional arguments to my assertion. From study to relaxation, from relaxation to study, is a delightful transition; in the other way of education one trudges on in the usual method of teasing application, and when study no longer becomes a merit it loses *all* its pleasures; if study arises from free will, it is always brisk, happy, and successful; if from force, it is dull, tedious, and seldom, I may say never, retains what it is meant to acquire. The trammels of a boarding-school confine the mind; the relaxation there admitted of is too little to have any effect; the little too they have is in the same round of childish amusements which, after the age of childhood, are no amusement at all. Within the walls of a play-ground, with precise hours marked out for play, what exertion can there be to industry? what emulation for superiority? There is in general some one petty tyrant who commands them all. Were I contending the point with an opponent, I might bring forward other arguments; from the above, I would infer that public education is a much better mode than private, and that the very freedom of the former is a great cause of its superiority.

That this freedom may be carried too far, is an undoubted

fact; I have witnessed it at Eton, and, from the little I have seen of Westminster, I will venture to affirm that it is still more dissipated than Eton; but nevertheless, take all the advantages and disadvantages, the former will preponderate in every public school; for, exclusive of the others which I above have mentioned, the advantage of making acquaintance who will be of service through life is no contemptible one; every one remembers with retrospective joy the years passed at Eton, and a friendship there formed and established will be maintained throughout life.

Thursday, 20*th*.—Half-holiday. Read Lucan. Drank tea alone. Read Ariosto with Shaw and Neville.

Friday, 21*st*.—Whole school-day. Read Horace. Lucan. Read Bryant's 'Dissertation on Rowley's Poem,' tending to prove they were actually written by him. Drank tea with Hervey. Read Ariosto with Neville and Shaw. Read Xenophon with my tutor.

Saturday, 22*nd*.—Common Saturday. Read Callimachus. Continued Bryant's Dissertation. Saw the College Library. Read Xenophon with my tutor. Read Ariosto with Neville and Shaw.

Sunday, 23*rd*.—Learnt part of the Fifth Satire of Juvenal for my tutor. Dr. Norbury, the deceased Fellow, was buried in the church. Did theme. Read Ariosto with, &c. Read Bryant's Dissertation. Drank tea with Tonson.

Monday, 24*th*.—Half-holiday. Read Homer. Did lyrics. Read Bryant's Dissertation.

Tuesday, 25*th*.—Whole holiday. Wrote a French letter. Read Bryant's Dissertation.

Wednesday, 26*th*.—Whole school-day. Read Homer. Virgil. Concluded Bryant's Dissertation. Began Tyrwhitt's, tending to prove that they were written by Chatterton. Took a solitary walk, and employed myself in making a few verses to Solitude. Drank tea with Neville. Re-translated part of my translation of Rousseau. Read Ariosto, &c.

Thursday, 27*th*.—Play at four. Read Lucian. Cicero.

Wrote a letter. Finished Tyrwhitt's Dissertation. Began Warton's on the same side of the question. Read Ariosto, &c. Took a walk with Tonson and Kelsale.

Friday, 28*th*.—Whole school-day. Read Horace. Lucian. Finished Warton's Dissertation. After having finished all the Dissertations, I am now quite at a loss which to give it to: had I read the poems, and taken no trouble about convincing myself, I should have formed an opinion that they were Rowley's, and could have supported my opinion with arguments; but now I am quite in the dark. I think Bryant proves they were not written by Chatterton, and Tyrwhitt that they were not written by Rowley. The idea of a third person is still more chimerical than either of these. Who were they written by, then? I believe they must have written themselves. Drank tea with Shaw. Read Ariosto.

Saturday, 29*th*.—Whole holiday. Read Goldsmith's 'Deserted Village.' Drank tea with Grose. Some more poems, said to be Rowley's. Turned first Eclogue of Rowley's poems into modern English verse.

Sunday, 30*th*.—Took a solitary walk. Made a few stanzas, a Simile to Human Life. Gave Tonson tea. Took a walk with him. Read Ariosto.

Monday, 31*st*.—Whole school-day. Read Homer. Cicero. Gave tea to Neville, Hervey, and Shaw. Packed up. Read Ariosto."

There is much in all this that is worthy of notice. In after days, Charles Metcalfe used to say that nearly all the literary knowledge which he had acquired in the course of his life, had been gained as a boy at Eton—he had never been able to read much at a later period of his career. How great was his application then, how varied his pursuits, may be gathered from these extracts. Great men are not to be tried by ordinary rules; they make rules for

themselves. I would rather think of a fine open-spirited boy, boating, swimming, playing, even getting into mischief at school, and in the holidays spending half his time on the back of a pony; and I should, as a rule, believe that in such training there were more hopeful assurance of turning him, in due time, into a useful servant of the State, than in the discipline of such continued book-work as is recorded in Charles Metcalfe's journal. But it was fortunate, in this instance, that the bent of the boy's inclination was rather towards intellectual than muscular exercise—that he spent his leisure hours with Ariosto and Chatterton, with Gibbon and Voltaire, rather than with the boats' crews and the Eton elevens. If he had been captain of the boats, and beaten Harrow and Winchester off his own bat, he could not have grown into a manlier character. The finest physical training in the world could not have made him a robuster statesman. But if he had not acquired a love of literature, and some knowledge of books at school, he would never have acquired them at all; and though he might still have distinguished himself greatly on the theatre of the world, it is hard to say how much might have been wanting from the completeness of the character, which it is the business and the privilege of the biographer to illustrate in these pages.*

* It is probable that these studious habits were strengthened, if not generated, in the boy, by the exhortations of his mother, who was wont to stimulate him to new exertions in such a strain as the following: "I am glad you persevere in your endeavors," she wrote to Charles, in 1799; "you must succeed; but to acquire knowledge requires resolution, without which nothing can be attained. Mrs. S. made a very deep impression on me the other day, by telling me that a very clever man said, if a person would

That he read what he did at Eton, Charles Metcalfe in after years continually rejoiced; but he lamented that he had not enjoyed more extended opportunities of self-improvement. "Were I disposed," he wrote two years afterwards, "to lament that which is irretrievable, I should never cease to regret that I was removed from Eton at the time that I was. I left it at the age of fifteen, at a time when my ideas were ripening—when I was attached to the studies in the pursuit of which I was engaged, had objects towards which I was directing my exertions, and had formed plans which promised success. Five years more might well have been spared to Eton and a University, after which there would have been plenty of time for India." But now he was taken away from Eton, that he might be shipped off to India at once.

It was an awkward fact in the lives of the two young Metcalfes — Theophilus and Charles — that their father was an East-Indian Director. So, doubtless, at least they regarded it. Already was the elder brother under sentence of banishment to China. And now it was decreed that the younger should be despatched to Bengal. A China writership was, in those days, the best bit of preferment

read three hours a day seriously and well-chosen books, for four years, he could not fail of being so clever and able, that he might fill any office or place in the kingdom—that the Ministers would be happy to have his abilities. . . . . I have read more regularly every day since her observation. I wish it had made as deep an impression on Theophilus—but books seem to give him no pleasure. What a pity! With his quickness and comprehension he would, if he chose, be a very shining character. I think, if I were you, I would adopt the plan. It's astonishing what a number of volumes you will get through in that time." Her maternal penetration had not at this time discovered that it was not Theophilus, but Charles, who was destined to be the shining character.

in the world. It was a certain fortune in a very few years. The appointments in that service were so few and so lucrative, that they were commonly reserved for the Directors' own sons. Major Metcalfe saw clearly the advantages of such a provision for his eldest boy. He had an easy fortune of his own; but he had a large family, and, divided among so many children, his 4000*l.* a year would not have secured a sufficiency to any. The baronetcy had not then been attained, nor a family estate purchased; and if they had been, it is doubtful whether Thomas Metcalfe would have "made an eldest son" and left Theophilus to amuse himself. As it was, he wisely determined that the boy should work for himself; and there being no easier and no more rapid road to fortune than the Company's Factory at Canton, the prudent father determined, in 1799, to despatch his first-born, in the following year, to "Cathay."

To Theophilus, who had left Eton some little time before, and had been dissipating, as he called it, in Scotland and Wales, this decision was a heavy blow. He was already tasting the sweets of independent life in England—making friends, falling in love, acting at masquerades, drinking his bottle of wine, and exhibiting other symptoms of premature manhood. The thought of being cut short in this career of glory was grievous to him in the extreme. So he cast about in his mind how he could escape the sentence recorded against him; and began to think whether Charles could not be persuaded to go to China in his room.

The two brothers had not always walked hand-in-

hand with each other. The breaches between them were frequent—as frequent they will be between boys of different character, each with pretensions of his own, each after his own fashion egotistical and intolerant (and there is no egotism and intolerance equal to that of clever boys); but there was a fund of good brotherly love at the bottom of their hearts, even when they were most vehement in their denunciations of each other. All through the year 1799, this fraternal antagonism seems to have been at its height. Their good mother declared that she quite dreaded the approach of the holidays on this account, and strenuously exhorted them to peace. Her exhortations were not at first successful. Early in November, the two brothers fell to quarrelling over the politics of the day. Charles was at that time, like his father, a Tory and a Pittite; whilst Theophilus was in Opposition. Charles declared that the Ministers were the only men capable of governing the country, and called his brother a democrat. Upon this Theophilus fired up, and, adverting to the expedition to Holland, asked what was to be said of "Ministerial liberality, which now accuses the Russians, accuses the Austrians, accuses anything but those who would have taken all the credit if it had succeeded—so much for Ministers, for the only men who can govern the country, or in other words, can lose our credit by secret expeditions." Men got from politics into personalities more expeditiously in those days than they do now; and boys followed their example. So Theophilus, having disposed of Pitt and his colleagues, told Charles that

as he treated all his opinions with insolence, he desired that the correspondence might drop. "You may," he added, "(by dint of application) have made yourself a better classical scholar than I (by idleness) have made myself; but still, I do not lower my abilities, in my own opinion, so as to need advice from a younger brother." Charles was, doubtless, inclined to be a little self-opinionated and dictatorial (and in this there were the germs of what afterwards came to be a noble self-reliance); but, although the rupture for a week or two was complete, it was not likely to be of long continuance between two such fine-hearted boys, and they were soon writing to each other in fitting terms of brotherly love.

Then it was that the great question of the China writership rose up for consideration. When Charles Metcalfe came home to Portland-place for the Christmas holidays of 1799-1800, Theophilus was in Wales, on a visit to Lord Newborough. Thence he wrote to his brother to sound him about China, bravely assuming at the outset that Charles could not possibly object to so excellent a provision for a younger brother:

"When I consider," he wrote in January, 1800, "of the difference between you and me, I am astonished. You, a studious, grave fellow, studying five hours a day; me, a wild idle dog, who does not look into a book from the rising to the setting of the sun. You, who would like to go to China to make a large fortune; me, who would like to stay in England and spend what I have. . . . . Added to this difference between us, another great one is, you would not give a

—— for a glass of wine, and I with pleasure will drink a bottle with any friend. Would, Charles, that you were to bend your way to China in my stead! and I know not why I should be refused remaining in England, when I seem so anxiously to wish it. . . . . What, because the world styles it good, is a young man to be sent to a place which least of all suits his disposition, to be shut up for ten or twelve years from all relations and friends."

But Charles having no stronger taste for China than Theophilus, wrote his brother to that effect. The elder, however, would not still abandon all hope of the vicarious sacrifice to Mammon, on which he had set his heart. "If you are inclined to make money," he wrote, "which your disposition in some degree shows, China is the best place. . . . . I have written to my father on this subject; but I have one question to ask you. If it is offered to you, are you determined not to go? I request you to keep this letter, and you will see hereafter that I was your brother." Charles was not to be persuaded, though he kept the letter. He still said, that if the decision depended upon himself, he would have nothing to do with the China factory. He hoped his brother would not be offended; but he had no wish to be offered up in his place. To this Theophilus frankly replied that he could not conceive why he should be offended. "As it is a maxim of mine," he said, "first to please myself, and then my friends, I cannot be angry at your doing the same."

But whilst these young gentlemen were arranging for themselves the business of their future dis-

posal, the elder Metcalfes were settling everything for them, and leaving little choice to the boys. Both, after a few years, acknowledged that their parents were right. But when it was finally decided—and all escape from the decision was impossible—that Theophilus should be despatched to China, and that Charles should go as a writer to Bengal, the two boys were ready to die with vexation. Charles was very sorry to leave Eton. He loved the school. He loved his tutor. He loved many of his school-fellows; and he loved his books. He was sorry to think of leaving England; for he loved his parents, and he loved his sisters. Mrs. Metcalfe, though Theophilus was her favorite, sometimes acknowledged that Charles was the more dutiful and attentive of the two. By his sisters, into whose school-room he would make frequent disturbing incursions, he was held in the fondest affection. He was very loving and very loveable. He was not one who could be banished to a distant country without grievous laceration of the heart.

In the year 1800, and at the end of March, Charles Metcalfe quitted Eton. In those days boys were sent fresh from public or private schools, or from no school at all, to embark on board ship, and sail for the land where they were to become Judges, or Ambassadors, or Ministers of Finance. That under this system some great administrators rose into eminence is not to be denied. But in the character and qualifications of the general body of the Indian Civil Service, under an improved educational system—a system of special training still to be im-

proved—a great and progressive advance during the last half century may be clearly discerned. When Major Metcalfe entered in his list the name of his son Charles Theophilus, the service of which he was about to become a member had emerged from the slough of corruption in which it had once been sunk; and though some who had belonged to it in the old bad times were still in its ranks, it had become a respectable profession. Lord Cornwallis and Sir John Shore had nursed the infancy and sustained the childhood of its respectability; and now Lord Wellesley was watching the progress of its adolescence. Instead of a race of men, who were more than three-fourths traders, growing rich upon irregular and unrecognised gains, there was fast growing up an army of administrators, receiving fixed pay for fixed service, and adding nothing to their stores that was not to be found in the audit-books of the Government. All that they wanted was more training to fit them for the public service, and this was soon about to be supplied. At no period were the prospects of the profession better; at no period were higher emoluments to be obtained with more honor; at no period was there finer scope for action, or a greater likelihood of a youth of energy and ability soon rising to fame and fortune.

Of Charles Metcalfe's abilities, his father had a high opinion. He knew, too, that his son had great powers of application; and he predicted that the union of the two would enable him to command success. He was one of the few India Directors who neither at that nor a later period were alarmed

by the vigor and determination of Lord Wellesley. He believed that under the Government of that great man there were the fairest prospects of his son laying the foundation of future eminence as a statesman; and though, if he had been swayed only by the impulses of parental affection, he would have retained both his elder sons in England, he now resolutely decreed that they should seek their fortunes in the East.

It was arranged, therefore, that Theophilus should sail for China in the spring, and that Charles should embark for Calcutta in the summer. In the mean while the boys were to enjoy themselves as best they could. Charles, though of a retiring disposition, did not dislike society; and there were a few families, in the neighbourhood of his father's house, to whom he was a frequent visitor. In one of these there was a young lady, a little older than himself, with whom he fell in love at first sight. He was first introduced to her, on the day after he left Eton, at a ball in his father's house.* After that event he frequently saw her, either at his own house or her mother's. The charms of the young lady, not merely those of external beauty and grace, made a deep and abiding impression on his mind; and he was long afterwards of opinion, that this

* He entered in his journal at the foot of a page, under date April 2, "Ball at home. I was first introduced to Miss D——; danced with her." What followed this simple statement can only be conjectured, for the next leaf in the journal is (very expressively) cut out of the book. Soon afterwards there was another ball in Portland-place — "a very pleasant one," wrote Charles; "danced four dances with Miss D——." Two or three nights afterwards he "passed the evening at Lady D——'s. Supped there; a most delightful party." On the next day he "called on Miss D——, sate an hour with her;" and so on.

boyish attachment, pure and disinterested as it was, had a beneficial influence on his character. He corresponded with her for some time afterwards, and her "sensible letters heightened his admiration."* They are almost the only part of his correspondence which has not survived him. The exception tells its own story.

All through the months of April and May, and the first half of June, Charles Metcalfe's head-quarters were in Portland-place. There he spent his time, improving himself in French and drawing, under masters; reading the Naval and Military Magazines, and sometimes writing for them; walking in the Park or in Bond-street with old school-fellows; turning Rowley's Eclogues into modern English; writing letters to his "friend and tutor, Goodall;" going to the opera; getting up masquerade costumes;† paying visits, painting a chess-board, sitting for his picture, and reading whenever he had time.‡

In the beginning of May he went to Eton, spent a day or two there, and took leave of Dr. Heath, his school-fellows, and his friend Goodall. It was, as he said afterwards, "a sad, sad day." It moved him deeply to say farewell to his old tutor; and the tutor, too, was greatly affected. He had recognised the many good and great qualities of his pupil; and whilst he was fondly attached to him on account of

* See *MS. Journal*—quoted, *post*, pages 72-73.

† He went to one masquerade as a Quaker, and to another as a Petit Maître. He was wonderfully unlike both.

‡ The reading, however, was but scanty. It did not embrace much beyond Symes' "Embassy to Ava," and Turner's "Embassy to Thibet."

the former, there was a strong assurance in his mind that the latter would secure for the studious boy a not undistinguished career. Two or three years afterwards, he asked a gentleman from Bengal if he knew Charles Metcalfe, and being answered in the affirmative, he said, "Then you know a very good young man—a very superior young man. I have done for him what I never did for any one else—I wrote a letter in his favor to Lord Wellesley."

In the middle of May, Theophilus Metcalfe embarked for China, on board the *Exeter;* but the fleet being delayed in the Channel, he came up to town and very nearly lost his passage. He re-embarked at the end of the month, but was detained by stress of weather in Torbay, whence he wrote to Charles to "give him a bit of advice" about his love affair, as one who had "experience in such matters."* But it may be doubted whether the younger brother needed to be told that it was necessary to act with caution and diffidence. He was always very diffident about himself, and used sometimes to speak almost painfully of his want of personal attractions. For as he grew up, the beauties which developed themselves in the person of Charles Metcalfe were, for the most part,

* The following amusing passage in this letter is extremely characteristic of Theophilus Metcalfe:—"Here we are lying in company with Lord St. Vincent and the Channel Fleet—wind S.S.W. My Lord is determined to put to sea the first opportunity, and we are to go with him. It will be a fine sight, the two fleets together. He has given orders that not one of us shall go ashore. He is a proud, overbearing fellow, and I should like to show him there is one in the fleet who does not see he has any right to fear him. If there were any of my friends ashore here, I would go in spite of the old fellow. One of the ships, the *Phœnix* by name, ran foul of him on entering the bay. I rejoiced to see it. The old fellow swore at him, I'll be bound."

those of the mind. He was short and somewhat homely in appearance. But in the intelligence of his countenance, and the habitual sweetness of his smile, there was something that atoned for all such defects.

The vessel (the *Skelton Castle*) in which a cabin had been secured for Charles Metcalfe, was to sail with the June fleet. In the early part of the month, therefore, he took leave of his friends, and among others, of his first preceptor, Mr. Tait, of Bromley,* and his wife. The former died a quarter of a century afterwards, and Mrs. Tait survived Charles Metcalfe. Whether he ever saw her again I do not know; but when he died, he had for many years been paying a pension which he had settled on her; and after his death, a passage was found in his will directing that, in the event of her surviving him, it should be continued during her life.

The 14th of June, as he wrote in his journal, was "the last he was destined to spend with his family." On the following day, he "took leave of all his friends and left London, not to enter it again for twenty years." After a few days spent at Portsmouth, off which place the fleet was lying, in making ready his cabin, visiting the Dockyard, and writing letters to his friends, including Goodall and Miss D——, he "took leave of his dear father," who had accompanied him, and resigned himself to his fate.

After some detention in the Channel, the fleet got fairly out to sea; and then Charles Metcalfe began again to practise that system of "holding out,"

* Reference to this visit has already been made. It is duly entered in his journal under date June 12: "Went to old Aunt Winch at Bromley."

which had enabled him to defeat his friend Goodall, at Eton, and which afterwards secured him great moral triumphs over Eastern princes and Western partisans. But neither before nor after, neither in the East nor the West, did he encounter so troublesome and contumacious an opponent as his enemy of the *Skelton Castle*. Resolute in all things, Charles Metcalfe was resolute not to be sea-sick; and though his sufferings were considerable, he still entered in his journal from day to day that he "held out" against the enemy; and in spite of the frequent entries of "very squeamish," he almost accomplished success.

He had a friend on board, Mr. Bazett, with whom he "read Moors;" and in his own cabin he studied the Abbé Raynal's East Indies, Holwell's Tracts, the Memoirs of Abdul Kurreem, and other books; and wrote poetry to Miss D——.

On the 22nd of September, the fleet came-to off the Island of St. Helena. Under the auspices of Mr. Bazett, Charles Metcalfe landed, and was most hospitably entertained. He seems to have spent a week very pleasantly there, and to have come away with some lively impressions. The entries in his journal are but brief, and may, therefore, be inserted:

"*Monday*, 22*nd*.—Went on shore with Mr. Bazett and the ladies. Went to Mr. Doveton's house, where Mr. Bazett had procured me an apartment.

Tuesday, 23*rd*.—Was introduced to the Governor and all the great people of the island. Dined at home, viz., Mr. Doveton's. In the evening all the island came to pay their complimentary visit to the ladies, &c.

Wednesday, 24*th*.—Took a ride up the country; visited

Plantation House, the Governor's country seat; thence we proceeded to Mr. Doveton's, at Sandy Bay, and returned to the Valley. I dined with the Governor at the Castle, took tea and coffee, and returned home to accompany the ladies on their return of visit. Supped at home.

Thursday, 25*th*.—Rode with our party to Rosemary, Mr. Wrangham's, where we breakfasted with Dr. Wilkinson. After breakfast we rode to High Peak, and returned to dinner at Rosemary. After dinner we rode down to the Valley.

Friday, 26*th*.—The Lady-Governess gave a dinner in the country, at Plantation House, to which I was invited. Immediately after breakfast I rode there. Passed a very pleasant day. After dinner rode down again to the Valley. Went to the play, which was performed as miserably as it was possible. After the play supped at home.

Saturday, 27*th*.—Took a ride with our party, and breakfasted up the country with Captain Isaacke. Went to Arno's Vale, the seat of Mr. Bazett's father; thence we proceeded to Long Wood, the residence of the Deputy-Governor. Went to a ball given by Major Cocks, where all the beauty and fashion of St. Helena was assembled.

Sunday, 28*th*.—Spent the morning in the Valley. Dined with the Governor. Four P.M. came on board.

I left St. Helena strongly filled with lively impressions of the pleasure I received in my incursions up the country, of the civilities I received from all the inhabitants, but more particularly from Mr. Doveton, whose extraordinary attentions and generosity I shall never forget; and of the gratitude due to Mr. Bazett, to whose exertions I was indebted for these things."

I have heard it doubted whether Metcalfe was much alive to the beauties of external nature. I do not find many allusions to such things in his writings, nor can I gather that, at a later period of his life, the associations of the picturesque had much effect on his mind. But he was charmed and awe-struck by the beauty and sublimity of the scenery of St.

Helena. The enthusiasm which they engendered within him may be gathered from some passages in a descriptive account which he wrote of the island. He thus speaks of his first ride :*

"In the first ride I took I was struck with astonishment and admiration. Every step I took afforded a new scene of delight; every winding of the valley, every twining of the mountain, offered a magnificent view to our eyes; the contrast was wonderful. If I looked behind, I saw a bleak, barren rock, without a stalk of cultivation; if I looked before me, I was struck with the pleasing view of the sides of the hills covered with verdure; a fine breed of cattle browsing on the declivity, and every here and there waterfalls, pouring their contents into the bosom of the most fertile valleys, where they formed a meandering stream, the banks of which were covered with water-cresses and other herbs in the greatest abundance. Everywhere something grand or something beautiful opened upon us, and everywhere there was fresh substance for admiration. But I need not attempt to describe what cannot be described; I shall overrun my imagination, and be lost in the maze of wonders."

In another passage he thus describes one of his mountain walks :

"From Rosemary we walked to a ridge of rocks, piled loose one on another by the hand of Nature; some of them are so heaped up as to form the figure of a man, which goes by the name of the Friar, and taken in one point of view, it has that appearance. From this ridge you look down on an immense abyss, which from its depth and steepness is called Eternity; and, indeed, any despairing lover might in one instant, without

* Having spoken lightly of Metcalfe's equestrian skill, it may appear strange and contradictory that I have so soon set him on horseback, and that too in a rocky, precipitous, and dangerous country. He himself affords the explanation. "The roads," he wrote, "throughout the island are situated on the edge of precipices—nor would I trust myself on them on any English horse—but the animals here are so quiet, and sure-footed, and careful, that I should not be afraid to trust myself asleep on the back of any of them."

any trouble or noise, put an end to his existence in one step; the appearance cannot be better described than by making use of the allegorical term, 'Beauty in the lap of Horror.' There are many other situations similar to this in the island which I had not an opportunity of seeing; their names will give a better idea of them than anything I can say; such as Purgatory, Break-neck Valley, Hold-fast Tom, and others, which have escaped my recollection. I clambered up High Peak, one of the highest points (as its name indicates) in St. Helena; from this I looked down upon Ladder Hill (which, as I observed, stands half a mile perpendicular from the sea), as upon a deep valley. I found myself, for the first time in my life, when on High Peak, above the clouds. The prospect is noble, and the eye grasps at one view nearly the whole island; but we were prevented from enjoying it by the clouds, which seemed to shut us out from the world and oppose a barrier to our communication with humble mortals; but the barrier was but vapor, through which we descended from the regions of air to grovel once more amongst the herd of terrestrials. I was inclined to loiter, when a cry of *descende cœlo*, from Mr. Bazett, drove away my fanciful ideas; and I found in descending, that there was more difficulty in scrambling down than in clambering up rocks."

The remainder of the voyage furnished little worthy of record. An eclipse of the sun, a storm off the Cape, an enemy in sight, and a fall down the hatchway,* were the principal incidents recorded in young Metcalfe's journal.† At the end of December they were in soundings, and sighted land.

* "*October* 30.—Had a terrible fall from the gun-deck to the orlop, by which I cut open my chin, and at the time imagined I had received an internal injury; but the next day, being bled, the pains went off, and in a few days I felt no more of it."

† His studies at this time were principally in a poetical direction. He read Dryden and Pope—*Othello*, *Jane Shore*, *Venice Preserved*, and the *Pursuits of Literature*. On the 21st of October he "began a poem, intended to be entitled 'Eton,' in imitation of Pope's 'Windsor Forest.'" A specimen of Metcalfe's poetry, written a third part of a century afterwards, is given in the Appendix.

CHAPTER II.

[1801.]

THE FIRST YEAR IN INDIA.

The First Year in India—Arrival at Calcutta—The Young Writer's Reception—Hospitalities of the Cold Season—Oriental Studies—The College of Fort William—Depressing Influences of the Climate—Yearnings after Home—The Prescience of Young Ambition—Appointment to the Public Service.

On the first day of the present century, the vessel which conveyed Charles Metcalfe to India entered the Hooghly river, and at night-fall anchored off Kedgeree. On the following evening, as there was a likelihood of the ship's detention, the young writer put himself into a rowing-boat, and made his way towards Calcutta. After a "tedious, disagreeable expedition," owing, as the eager boy declared, to the "stupidity of the fellows," he arrived on the night of the 3rd of January, off one of the ghauts, or landing-places, of the great city; and in outer darkness, seeing nobody, and knowing not where he was, first planted his foot on Indian soil.*

* *MS. Journal.* "*January,* 1801. *Thursday,* 1*st.*—Having got our pilot on the preceding evening, we proceeded up the river, and anchored at Kedgeree.

"*Friday,* 2*nd.*—A number of boats came to us with fruits, and the appearance of the boats, as well as men, is very curious and entertaining to a stranger. As there was a likelihood of the ship's being detained, I got into the chokey boat at six in the evening, which, after a most tedious, disagreeable expedition, owing to the stu-

After half an hour's delay, young Metcalfe contrived to obtain the assistance of a man, who showed him the way to Mr. Colvin's house—the house of one of those great Calcutta merchants, who were fast rising into the "princely" dignity which at a little later period they attained. Thither his baggage was conveyed, and there he spent the first night of his sojourn in India. On the following morning, Mr. Colvin lent his young visitor a carriage; and Metcalfe, with a bundle of letters of introduction, set out to pay a round of visits. Among others to whom he presented himself, was Mr. Bristow, a member of the Civil Service, who invited the boy "to remain with him."* On the next day, he officially reported himself, ordered a palanquin, and hired a retinue of servants.†

And now commenced Charles Metcalfe's Indian career. He was fairly launched as a "young writer." He belonged to the great privileged class; he was the son of an East-India Director; he had many friends in the settlement, for his father had preceded him there; he had a passport to the best society in Calcutta. It was the season of social activity, the height of the cold weather, when

pidity of the fellows, brought us up to Calcutta on Saturday night. When I landed, I know not where, I saw nobody, till, after half an hour's delay, I got a man to show me Colvin's house, where I got my baggage, and slept."

* *MS. Journal.* "*Sunday, 4th.*—Got into Colvin's carriage and went to Graham's—thence to Cotton's, and after that to Bristow's, who invited me to remain with him. Despatched my letters—wrote to my uncles." [Mr. Richardson and Colonel Monson.]

† *MS. Journal.* "*Monday, 5th.*—Reported myself to Crommelin, Secretary in the Public Department; saw Plowden and Higginson. Went to Mr. Brown, the provost. [The Rev. David Brown, minister of the Old Church, and provost of the College of Fort William.] Ordered a palanquin (160 rupees). Got a Khitmudgar, Hircarrah, Masaulchee, and Tailor."

dinner-parties and balls are abundant, and young civilians are in constant requisition. So for some weeks after his arrival, the entries in his journal consist of little more than records of the places at which he dined and at which he danced. At the end of the first fortnight, he bethought himself of the duty of studying the languages; and he secured the services of a moonshee. But after two days' trial, he dismissed him, "finding him of no use;" and "determined to teach himself." The laudable determination, however, went the way of young civilians' resolutions in general; and for many weeks there is no record of anything beyond the hospitalities of Calcutta. A page or two from the boy's journal will indicate what they were:

"*Tuesday, January 6th.*—Went with Plowden to see Miss Baillie at Barlow's.* Received an answer from Crommelin. Dined at home.

Wednesday, 7th.—Went with Plowden to Brooke's. Saw Golding. Dined at Thornhill's. Got a Dhobee.

Thursday, 8th.—Changed my residence from Bristow's to Chapman's. Dined at home. Went to Lady Russell's.†

Friday, 9th.—With Plowden in the morning. Was introduced to Sir Alured Clarke‡ and General Baynard. Dined with the Governor-General, who talked much about Eton. Went to Lady Anstruther's ball.§

Saturday, 10th.—Shopping in the morning. Got a cocked-hat (20 rupees). Dined and passed the evening at Dr. Dick's.

* Mr. G. H. Barlow, then one of the chief officers of the Secretariat Department; afterwards Sir George Barlow, Governor-General of India.

† Wife of Sir Henry Russell, one of the puisne judges.

‡ Commander-in-Chief.

§ Wife of Sir J. Anstruther, Chief Justice.

Sunday, 11*th.*—Called on Mr. Bazett. Dined with them.

Monday, 12*th.*—Strolling about in the morning. Went to the levee. Dined at home, and passed the evening at Colvin's.

Tuesday, 13*th.*—Dined at college. Went to the Governor's ball.

Wednesday, 14*th.*—Dined at Sir Alured Clarke's. At Dick's in the evening.

Thursday, 5*th.*—Dined at Mr. Graham's. Went to Brooke's ball. Set up till sunrise at a second supper.

Friday, 16*th.*—Dined at Tucker's.* Went to bed very much fatigued, not having slept the preceding night.

Saturday, 17*th.*—Dined at college. Sat at Higginson's. Had a moonshee.

Sunday, 18*th.* Dined at home. Had a moonshee.

Monday, 19*th.*—Dismissed my moonshee, finding him of no use. Determined to teach myself. Went on board the *Skelton Castle*, the *Malartigue*, and *London*, taken from the French; and the *Countess of Sutherland*, a very large ship, in company with Plowden, Impey, Hamilton, and Chester. Dined at home. Went to Lady Anstruther's.

Tuesday, 20*th.*—Dined at Dick's.

Wednesday, 2*st.*—Breakfasted at Bristow's. Wrote journal. Dined at Bristow's.

Thursday, 22*nd.*—Tiffed at Hamilton's. Dined with Plowden.

Friday, 23*rd.*—Answered my uncle Monson's letter. Ditto Richardson. Dined at home. Went to the Governor's ball.

Monday, 26*th.*—Dined at Barlow's. Great A.'s rout.

Tuesday, 27*th.*—Dined at Bazett's.

Wednesday, 28*th.*—Dined at college. Spent the evening at Hamilton's.

Thursday, 29*th.*—Dined at Brooke's.

Friday, 30*th.*—Dined at Buller's.† Ball at Brooke's.

Saturday, 31*st.*—Tiffed at Law's."

* Mr. Henry St.George Tucker, then Financial Secretary.

† Probably Mr. C. Buller, of the Civil Service, father of the late Mr. Charles Buller and of Sir A. Buller, now one of the puisne judges of the Supreme Court of Calcutta.

After this, appears a long hiatus in the journal, and towards the end of February there is a brief admission that the writer had nothing but idleness to record :—"This long vacuum," he wrote, "would be filled by nothing but accounts of my idleness. It is, therefore, as well to drop it. I got into my own house on Sunday, 22nd (February)."

Having established himself in a house of his own, and being now in all respects the master of his own time and his own actions, Charles Metcalfe began seriously to think about qualifying himself for the active business of his profession. The native languages were to be mastered at the threshold. It was to be a toilsome, systematic operation. No longer were Persian and Hindostanee to be acquired by chance. No longer were young men, fresh from Eton or Harrow, to be flung loose upon the surface of Indian life to acquire, as best they could, without any formal training or scholastic discipline, the knowledge that was to fit them to become Judges and Ambassadors and Ministers of Finance. Earnestly and assiduously had Lord Wellesley addressed himself to the great work of improving the administrative machinery of the Anglo-Indian Government. And foremost among his projects was the establishment of a nursery for young Indian administrators, under efficient direction and control. Clinging with peculiar fondness to those academic reminiscences, which no Etonian will willingly let die, he had conceived the idea of planting an *Alma Mater* on the banks of the Hooghly; and now the College of Fort William was fast springing into life. The history of this great project—of its rise and its fall—has

been written, and may be written again. But it has not yet been recorded that Charles Metcalfe was the first student ever admitted into the College of Fort William.

It was on the 27th of April that he signed the declaration preparatory to his formal admission. He had been diligently "sapping"* all through the two preceding months. In spite of his determination to teach himself, he had secured the services of another moonshee; and day after day had been deep in Persian and Hindostanee, occasionally varying his Oriental studies with snatches of French and Classics. The entries in his diary at this time relate almost exclusively to the continuance of his studies:

"*Wednesday, February 25th.*—Attended Hindostanee lectures, second and first class. Breakfasted with Tucker, and dined.

Thursday, 26th.—Dined at college.

Friday, 27th.—Attended first, second, and third classes of Hindostanee, and studied with my moonshee. Read Gibbon.

Saturday, 28th.—Studied with my moonshee. Read first vol. of Gibbon's Roman Empire. Breakfasted at Cotton's.

Sunday, 1st of March.—Went to church. Hindostanee.

Monday, 2nd.—Hindostanee.

Tuesday, 3rd.—Ditto.

Wednesday, 4th.—Ditto. Went to Bazett's in the evening.

Thursday, 5th.—Dined at Tucker's. Hindostanee, &c.

Friday, 6th.—Hindostanee lectures. Dined at Dashwood's.

Saturday, 7th.—Classical.

Monday, 9th.—French. Sapping.

Tuesday, 10th.—Persian. Ditto.

* No Etonian need be told that "sapping" means *studying*—literally, *growing wise*—but to other readers the interpretation may be necessary.

Wednesday, 11*th*.—Hindostanee. Ditto." [And so, all through the remainder of the month, continued "sapping to April the 1st, when the term closed;" and again "sapped to Sunday the 5th."]

A few more extracts from this journal will carry on the history of the young writer's life better than anything I can substitute for them. It will be seen how he continued to devote himself diligently to his studies; how he endeavored to accustom himself to his new way of life, and to absorb himself in the occupations of the Present; but how the cherished associations of the Past would rise up to distract his mind and unhinge his resolutions. Do what he would, he still thought less of the Calcutta course than of the Eton playing-fields — less of Brown and Buchanan than of Heath and Goodall— less of Writers'-buildings than of Portland-place:

"*Thursday*, 23*rd*.—Wrote a long letter to my father. Got a new moonshee, the other having left with much insolence.

Friday, 24*th*.—Wrote to Goodall.*

Saturday, 25*th*.—Ditto.

Sunday, 26*th*.—To my mother.

Monday, 27*th*.—Read and signed the declaration, and was admitted into college—being the first ever admitted into the College of Fort William.

Tuesday, 28*th*.—Wrote to my mother.

Wednesday, 29*th*.—Wrote to Lloyd, bookseller. Dined at Cruttenden's. Mure arrived from Cawnpore.

N.B. During this month I daily did something in the way of studies, and find myself at the end of it improved. I have not written down an account of them, as my memory could not

* Metcalfe's tutor at Eton—afterwards head-master and then provost of that college.

afford one. Of what nature they may have been, must be hereafter proved at the college examinations, and the degree of praise, or discredit, I may receive, will be the best criterion by which to judge whether my time has been thrown away or not. I cannot boast of having applied so much as I ought, for of all disagreeable studies, the first steps of a language are most disagreeable.

Saturday, 2*nd of May*.—At Bazett's in the evening.

Sunday, 3*rd*.—Church. Barton came and took up his quarters with me.

Monday, 4*th*.—Went to the Provost's chambers, read the declarations, &c., and was admitted the first on the list of the College of Fort William. Signed my name to the Hindostanee, Persian, Greek, Italian, French, and Latin languages. [Remark particularly: This is the anniversary of my going to Eton, and my taking leave of Dr. Heath.] There was a grand dinner at college, where the Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, was present. He was remarkably attentive to me. Went to Mrs. Palmer's.

Tuesday, 5*th*.—Had a dinner at home. Sherer, Chester, Potts, and Plowden.

Wednesday, 6*th*.—Anniversary of my leaving Eton. The last time I saw Goodall, Tonson, and Grose—a sad, sad day. Called on Mrs. Potts after college dinner.

Thursday, 7*th*.—Dined at home. Bayley came. Received a letter from my mother and Grose.

Friday, 8*th*.—Heard from Cawnpore. [From this to Monday, 18th, forgot.] Monday, examined in Persian by Edmonstone and Bayley.* Put in the sixth, or actually the second class.

Tuesday.—Hindostanee lectures. Got a new moonshee; Hilal-ood-deen.

Wednesday.—Latin lectures.

* This should have been written Baillie. Captain Baillie was then one of the Professors of the College. He was subsequently a distinguished political officer, and an East-India Director.

Thursday, 22*nd*.—This day twelvemonth, my brother left the fleet at St. Helen's ; and came up to London, the last time I saw him. Nor have I heard from him. God forbid he should have met with any accident!

Thursday, 4*th of June*.—Was at the levee. The Lord behaved to me with marked attention, and gave me a general invitation to Barrackpore. Such civility from Lord Wellesley is no common thing.

Wednesday, 17*th*.—Heard from my brother in China. This day week, moved into the Buildings.

Thursday, 18*th*.—Wrote to my father requesting to return. On his answer depends my happiness in life."

This was written in the middle of June. The exhausting climate of Calcutta had now for some months been doing its sure work upon the young stranger; and he felt, as hundreds before and after him have felt—worn, weary, and dispirited; needing some great exertion to shake off the depressing influences which were surrounding him, and yet utterly incapable of making it. He had been applying himself somewhat too closely to his studies; the mind had been on the stretch, and the body had been inactive. He had neglected to take that regular exercise which, in moderation, contributes so much to the health of the resident in hot climates. He was not addicted to field sports; he did not excel in athletic exercises of any kind. He said that he was "out of his element" amidst such scenes; and, now that the time for the more strenuous activities was past, he had not, like most of his cotemporaries, the unfailing resource of the saddle to fall back upon—seasonable in all months, from January to

December. The brisk Arab and the open plain were nothing to him, for he did not delight in equestrian recreations. Foul vapors gathered about him; and there was nothing to disperse them. In these fiery months there is a general stagnation of the social atmosphere. A few languid dinner-parties feebly indicate that the spirit of hospitality is not dead, but sleepeth. Even the natives of the country shrink from the fierce glare, the scorching winds, and the intolerable dust of the summer solstice. How, then, when the sun is up, can English gentlemen pass about from house to house, to visit one another, or indulge freely in mid-day intercourse? The hot weather is generally a period of dreary isolation. Men exist through the long days in feverish imprisonment, if they can; but every one has enough to do in looking after his own individual life; he has little of any kind to bestow upon his neighbours. Doubtless, therefore, Charles Metcalfe, at this time, found himself lonely and dispirited—languid and exhausted — with all sorts of sickly fancies preying upon his mind. He was dissatisfied with the Present; he was hopeless of the Future; and, worse than all, he was regretful of the Past. "Sorrow's crown of sorrow" was pressing heavily upon him; for he clung to the memory of "happier things."

Life seemed to him to be without an object. It is a great thing, doubtless, to "study the native languages." It is very right that this should be the unvarying formula of advice to all embryo Indian statesmen; but, however advantageous the results may be, this study of the native languages is a dreary

occupation in itself. A young man in his teens may be forgiven if his spirit is not stirred by it to any very lofty pitch of enthusiasm—if he does not appreciate the privilege of gathering under the guidance of a moonshee the unlovely knowledge of the Eastern world, with a thermometer standing at 90 deg. in the shade. I do not, therefore, seek to disguise the fact, that before Charles Metcalfe had been a year in India, he was eager to go home again. Let us read his own account of the matter.

"At the latter end of June," he wrote in his journal some months afterwards, "there was an examination, which placed me fifth on the list of Hindostanee scholars, and last of the first class. This brought praise upon me, as I had arrived in the country after all those who were examined with me, to the number of thirty. Lord Wellesley told me he considered my progress greater than that of any other. His attentions to me have been, on every occasion, marked and flattering. I spent a week of the July vacation at Umooar, or Ooreapara, on a hog-hunting party. I was out of my element. I afterwards wrote my essay on the College; it was one of the ten best sent into the Lord. The next term passed over my head without any attention to my studies—my mind being too much occupied with the thought of my melancholy situation. I wrote repeated and urgent letters to my father on the subject of return, and know not how my fate is to be decided. I cannot exist here; the idea that my father may refuse, renders me thoroughly miserable. I had projected a trip up the river for the vacation

with Hamilton, and we were on the point of setting off when a disorder broke out upon me, which stopped us, and now confines me to Calcutta, and almost to the house. I find from it how much inferior the most excruciating bodily torment is to mental agony —the result of reflection and too much sensibility. I cannot exist in absence of my family. I have been exceedingly unwell throughout the rains. Ill-health is a very inferior consideration with me. I am, however, willing to believe that the sufferings I at present labor under will be shortly removed, and that it hath pleased Almighty Providence to ordain me this time of penance that I may learn Humility, Patience, and Obedience to his Divine will. How awful is the thunder of the Lord, which, growling o'er our heads, proclaims his power—how mighty is his vengeance—how dreadful his wrath! Who shall oppose it? Man, remember the fall of our Great Ancestor. He sinned, and mark his punishment."—[*October 5th*, 1801.]

There would be enough in the mere fact of the physical ailments, to which reference is here made, to account for all this depression of spirit. The hot weather had exhausted young Metcalfe's strength, and the rainy season had utterly prostrated him. But the sufferings which he endured are not wholly to be attributed, directly or indirectly, to these causes. He was a youth of very quick affections. The pulsations of that warm human heart were ever keeping him in a state of unrest. From the solitude of his chamber in the City of Palaces, his thoughts went back with reverential love to his

old home in Portland-place. And there was one fair form, which, filling all his boyish imagination with visions of delight, was ever flitting between him and his books, making dim to his dazzled sight the Oriental characters which lay before him. His whole heart untravelled turned towards England; and he was twelve thousand miles away.

Nor was it only his boyish love that made India distasteful to him. His boyish ambition had already been fired. A mysterious power within him had suggested that he was destined to be great. He thought that he saw the end clearly before him; but so little did he understand the adaptation of means to that end, that he believed his success in life depended upon his immediate return to England. Under the influence of a strange intermixture of prescience and blindness, he implored his father to obtain for him, through the influence of Lord Grenville, an appointment in a public office at home,* for he believed that such an appointment, however insignificant, would be a stepping-stone to ultimate greatness.

He was a mere boy at this time—he had not completed his seventeenth year. But he had begun to think of the day when his biographer would trace, with deepest interest, his puerile aspirations through the records of his Common-place Book. "No man," wrote young Charles Metcalfe, in the autumn of 1801, "can be forced into greatness without Ambi-

* It is said that the Duke of Wellington, in early life, petitioned his friends to procure for him some small civil appointment, that he might retire from the military service, in which he saw little chance of rising.

tion. But will every man who has ambition be great? No one possesses more ambition than I do; and am I destined to be great? If I quit this country, I may be; and it is one of the reasons for my desiring it so ardently. I cannot help thinking, should I hereafter be great, of the fervor with which my biographer will seize upon these slight memorandums, and record them to an eager public as a proof of my indulging in youth and in distant climes the idea of becoming a great character on the theatre of the world. Ambition takes its rise from vanity, and in proportion as a man is ambitious, he is vain. I am, therefore, one of the vainest creatures upon earth—and I believe I am. There is, however, a vast distinction between vanity and presumption. The latter will show itself when the other cannot be perceived. I am free from the latter, for I have always the appearance of Modesty. This modesty is not assumed; it proceeds from bashfulness, and however superior I may internally fancy myself, I have never the boldness to communicate my thoughts before any number of persons. Even if a third person is present, I have a padlock on my mouth. But whence arises Vanity? A vain person would answer himself, 'From knowledge, abilities,' &c. I, indeed, am inclined to believe, that all men of ability so possess vanity (distinct from presumption), viz., they have a consciousness of their own powers, which is an innate vanity. It does not, however, follow, that all men who have vanity should possess ability. Ambition arises from a consciousness of our own powers, or Vanity; and this again from Ability. The most ambitious are the most vain; but the

most vain are not always the most able. I believe Egotism arises from Vanity; otherwise, I should not have devoted two pages to an examination of my own character. If we were to search our hearts, we should find them very faulty."*

Thus reasoned the clever boy, not unmindful of the possibility of all this finding its way into print half a century afterwards, under the hands of a "fervent biographer."† It seems to have been his ambition at this time to take part in the strife of English politics, and to make his way to eminence through the House of Commons. He could not believe that Hindostanee and Persian would help him on the road to Fame. "Language," he wrote, "is the most disgusting; History the most delightful of studies; Law is the most perplexing; Politics the most noble of professions. To be an independent member of the British House of Commons is the highest honor next to being Prime Minister of Great Britain. Pitt is the first man in Europe; still greater by his Resignation." And still thinking of the career of English statesmanship which might lie before him, the young civilian pushed aside his Persian dictionaries and grammars to write eager letters to his father, dwelling upon the misery of his condition and the hopelessness of his prospects, and praying for emancipation from the thraldom which was destroying all the happiness of his life.

* MS. "Common-place Book," 1801.

† It is not unworthy of remark, that young Metcalfe had been studying Rochefoucault and Rousseau. The entries in his Common-place Book are either Maxims or Confessions, or a mixture of both. At this early period of life cleverness is always imitative. The impress of some favorite author may generally be discerned upon the writings of the young. The imitation is not the less striking for its unconsciousness.

How these letters were received at home will presently be told. In the mean while, what he called a slight reprieve came from another quarter. All through the months of October and November, he had been a prey to anxiety and dejection,* but the remedy was close at hand. What young Metcalfe needed at this time to disperse the vapors which were clouding his happiness, was simply a life of Action. He was weary of the stagnation of student-life; and, perhaps, he was beginning to understand that the "misery" which, as he said, was pressing so heavily upon him, was in part at least the result of physical causes, and that movement might alleviate, if it could not wholly cure the disease. So it happened, that when it became known that the Government purposed to despatch an Embassy to the Arab States, he solicited Lord Wellesley, who was not unwilling to sanction the young writer's premature escape from College, to appoint him an Attaché to the Mission. The request was readily granted, and Mr. Charles Metcalfe was gazetted as Assistant to the Embassy to the Arab States.

But he never joined the appointment. "I was appointed," he wrote in his journal, a short time afterwards, "Assistant to the Embassy to the Arab States, on the 3rd of December. I afterwards (having the option, for which I feel sincere gratitude to

* "The whole of October and November," he wrote on the 6th of December, "have passed in misery proceeding from an anxiety to know my fate. I at length have received a slight reprieve by being appointed Assistant to the Embassy to the Arabian States, which situation I applied for to Lord Wellesley. I have left College, and that disagreeable restraint attendant upon it."

Lord Wellesley) had my appointment changed; and on the 29th of December I was appointed Assistant to the Resident with Dowlut Rao Scindiah." Colonel Collins, an old friend of young Metcalfe's father, was then Resident at Scindiah's Court. The appointment was, therefore, full of favorable promise; and not the least of its advantages was that, in order to join it, the young civilian was compelled to undertake an extensive land journey, at a season of the year when travelling in India is a long delight. So Charles Metcalfe, emancipated from the trammels of College, packed up his goods and chattels, and set out for the Upper Provinces.

And so ended Charles Metcalfe's first year in India. The experienced Anglo-Indian reader will see in it, peradventure, the reflexion of his own trial-year. When throughout the hot months and the rainy season of this year 1801, the young exile felt an irresistible desire to return to his old home, with all its charming associations of love and liberty, his longings were only those of a large proportion of the young exiles who, in loneliness of heart and captivity of person, struggle feebly through this first dreary season of probation. By the old, forgetful of their own experiences, this despondency, attributable as it is in part to physical and in part to moral causes, may be regarded as boyish weakness. But it is weakness better than any strength. Charles Metcalfe had a very warm human heart; and I do not think the reader will admire him the less for being forced to love him more.

CHAPTER III.

[1802.]

FIRST OFFICIAL EXPERIENCES.

Departure from Calcutta—Meeting with Lord Wellesley's Camp—Pageantry at Lucknow—Progress of the March—Arrival at Agra—Letters to Mr. Sherer—Life at the Residency—Colonel Collins—Home Correspondence—Return to Calcutta.

In the middle of the month of January, 1802, Charles Metcalfe quitted Calcutta, travelling in a palanquin, to join his appointment. He had a long journey before him; for his destination was beyond the limits of the Company's dominions, in the heart of those provinces lying between the Jumna and the Nerbudda, which had been at this time little explored by British residents in the East. The Mahrattas were then dominant in that fine country. The hereditary enmity of Scindiah and Holkar was rending and distracting it. It was what the natives called *gurdee-ka-wukht*—a time of trouble.

At Oujein Scindiah held his Court. British interests were represented there by Colonel Collins—an officer of the Company's army, who in more than one political situation had done good service to the State; but whose private amiability was not equal to his diplomatic address. He had been the

friend and associate of the elder Metcalfe, to whom he was much beholden; but still it was not without some misgivings that the young writer now found himself on his way to join the family of a man who was not reputedly of a temper calculated to win the confidence and affection of youth. These doubts, however, did not much or long disturb him. He started under happy auspices, which became still happier as he proceeded northwards. Lord Wellesley was then on his way to the Ceded Provinces of Oude, progressing with the true pomp of the Sultan; and at Cawnpore young Metcalfe came up with the vice-regal *cortége*, and was invited by the Governor-General to join it.

"I left Calcutta," thus journalised the young writer, "on the 14th of January, and arrived at Benares on the 19th, where I was very kindly entertained by Mr. Neave, and saw my godfather, Jacob Rider.* I quitted Benares on the 21st,

* It was, I believe, at the suggestion of Mr. Rider that Colonel Collins recommended young Metcalfe to the situation of an *attaché* to the Residency at Scindiah's Court. In the course of the preceding August he had written an affectionate letter to his godson, in which he said: "In spite of your present dislike to the country, I have been planning stations for you, in one of which I hope in due time to see your appointment. Amongst others, it has occurred to me that Colonel Collins, who is under great obligations to your father, should endeavor to get you appointed his assistant. It would be fixing you in one of the most respectable lines in the service, and your father, I am sure, would be very much pleased with it. It does not at all follow that military men are always to hold diplomatic appointments, and I should hope, old as I am, to see you Governor-General's agent to Scindiah. If you are for a rapid fortune, for a scramble, and to run off with what you can get, you should get appointed assistant to a collector. These principles, I trust, you are not come out with, and I should be sorry to hear of your getting into that line, or as assistant to either of the judges of Adawlut. Much better will it be for you to get into either of the offices below, under the Secretary-General, the Secretary in the Public Department, the Persian translator's office, or in the Secret Political and Foreign Departments. From any of these offices you will be qualified to hold any appointment in the Mofussil; but I say to you as I would to my own son — keep as long out of the

stopped some hours with Colonel Kyd at Allahabad, and arrived at Cawnpore on the 24th. Here I found all my friends and relations, and was very happy. But, alas! happiness cannot last long. I quitted Cawnpore on the 30th (my birthday) with Lord Wellesley, whose permission to accompany him was very graciously given; and after very agreeable marches (considered the whole time as one of his family) arrived at Lucknow on the 5th of February, 1802. Our time was most agreeably passed in a variety of magnificent shows. The fireworks exceeded any I ever saw. The elephant fights did not equal my expectation. I returned on the 14th of February to Cawnpore."

From this station, where he resided at the house of Mr. Richardson,* a member of the Civil Service, he wrote to one of his college friends — John Walter Sherer, then a young man of high promise, which his after-career of usefulness fulfilled—the following enthusiastic account of the pageantry at Lucknow. In the suite of Lord Wellesley he had begun to think that the bright Oriental tinting

judicial line, and the line of collections, as you can—altogether, I hope, or till that some great reform takes place in those lines. Recollect, my good fellow, that I write to you in perfect confidence, and not for general communication. There's scarcely a man in either of the lines I allude to that will agree with me in opinion. The diplomatic line is what I would recommend your turning your mind to.

"Your dislike to the country can't be greater than mine was for the first twelvemonth; it will wear off I am convinced, but perhaps not so soon in a college. However, when you reflect what satisfaction it will give your father and mother to hear of your getting a medal, I am sure you'll study hard to deserve one, and then I will attack Collins, for I hope to see you fixed either with him at Lucknow, or at Poonah. I should be most happy to see you, but I would not on any account have you think of leaving College under any pretence whatever."

* Mr. Richardson was the husband of one of Metcalfe's aunts.

of the "Arabian Nights" had nothing fabulous about it:

CHARLES METCALFE TO J. W. SHERER.

"Cawnpore, Feb. 17, 1802.

"My dear Sherer,—I have lately returned from Lucknow, whither I accompanied the Marquis. I consider myself fortunate in having had such an opportunity; for such a one will never most probably occur again. We left Cawnpore on the 30th of January, and, after four days' very pleasant march, encamped within three miles of Lucknow. The Nabob's tents were pitched between us and the town, which he had not entered since his return from Cawnpore. His Lordship's escort consisted of his Majesty's 76th, and 18th Regiment of Native Infantry, with the 3rd Regiment of Native Cavalry, and two troops of the 27th Light Dragoons, exclusive of his own body-guard. With camp followers, &c., we must have formed an encampment of above 20,000 men. Two of the Nabob's sons came to Lord Wellesley's tent to conduct him, and shortly after he commenced his march he was met by the Nabob, the Resident, and all the English and native respectable inhabitants of Lucknow. His Lordship and the Nabob mounted the same elephant (the whole party were provided with this conveyance), and commenced the procession with every possible parade of magnificence. I do not think a finer spectacle could have ever before been seen. Every display of Asiatic and European magnificence was to be seen in our procession. We had a large body of European soldiery (the finest sight we know of in England), at the same time everything of Asiatic splendor which the mind can fancy. The innumerable concourse of elephants (the grandeur of which animal seems to have appointed it particularly for a procession of this nature), decorated with costly trappings, was no small part of my admiration. The very dresses formed a spectacle of magnificence, and the two nations seemed to vie with each other in their splendor.

The Calcutta cavalry, I can assure you, was not the least elegant. His Lordship, in the true style of Eastern pomp, distributed his rupees with a liberal hand. The streets had been fresh painted, and those of the merchants were lined with the most beautiful silks of various patterns. The tops of the houses (with which we were brought to a level by our elephants) were covered with musicians and dancing-girls; the streets under our feet crowded with millions anxious to see so grand a procession. Everything recalled to my memory the 'Arabian Nights,' for every description of any such procession which I ever met with in history, even the celebrated Triumph of Aurelian (I think it was the Emperor), when he led Zenobia and Tiridates* captives, of which Gibbon gives an account, was completely beggared by it. I am aware that any attempt of mine to give an idea of what I saw will be very vain. We were received at the Nabob's at breakfast under a salute. There were some inconveniences, as there always will be in a thing of this kind,—such as the noise of the music, the cries of the scramblers, the crush of elephants, which was sometimes truly alarming.

"The Nabob and the Lord grew so attached to each other, that the Nabob declared that he could not exist unless he always dined and breakfasted in company with the Lord. We were, therefore, constantly annoyed with ceremony. The fireworks and illuminations which he exhibited to us were the most splendid I could ever have conceived an idea of. I was rather disappointed in the elephant fight: this animal does not seem to possess valor equivalent to his size or strength; yet to have seen it is certainly a matter of curiosity. The Nabob's horses are remarkably fine. His pleasures are all in the English way; he is fond of horses, dogs, hunting, &c., &c. His breakfasts, dinners, houses, are completely English. It struck me very forcibly as worthy of remark, that a Mussulman prince should sit after dinner merely for the purpose of handing about the bottle, though of course *he* did not drink. He has a French

* This should have been written *Tetricus*.

cook and a military band of English instruments. I at length grew quite tired of the variety of ceremonies, and, after gratifying my curiosity in seeing whatever was to be seen, I paid my last respects to his Lordship on Sunday. He has not quitted Lucknow. He was very attentive to me and kind. Remember me to all friends. Direct for the present to 'T. Richardson, Esq., Cawnpore.'

"Yours very sincerely,

"C. T. METCALFE."

"After enjoying the society of my friends for another fortnight," continued the young journalist, writing at Mynpooree on the 7th of March, "I left it on the 26th. Arrived on the 27th at Futtehghur, which I quitted on the 5th of this month, after having experienced a great deal of kindness from Mrs. Collins, and of attention and politeness from General Stuart. The change of scene which I have for the last two months experienced has, in some measure, diverted my mind from that constant brooding over my misery to which I have for too long a period given way. But no variety, no pleasures, can prevent me from frequently recurring to the probability of my happiness being sacrificed to worldly ideas of Prudence. Alas! how little is happiness consulted in general. But I must not indulge in these reflections."*

At this time young Metcalfe kept two journals;

* *MS. Journal, March 7th*, 1802. On the previous day he had written:—"*March 6th.*—I made a forced march from Mahomedabad to Bever, and thence to Bhogong, where I ordered the tents to be pitched. . . . Towards the evening I walked towards some distant ruins, which I found to be a burying-place for the followers of Mahomed. As I passed over their interred remains, I could not check my reflections upon the fallen state of this race of beings, who but half a century back were everywhere supreme." He had abandoned the palanquin, and was now riding on an elephant.

one a diary of his travels, the other what he called a "Common-place Book," or record of his thoughts; the objective and the subjective being scrupulously separated from each other. In the latter he wrote as follows, on that same 7th of September, in his tent at Mynpooree:

"SUNDAY.—I have just been reading divine service. What a strong impression does it always leave upon the mind, and how well calculated are the prayers to inspire one with a true spirit of religion. The Sabbath is (to the shame of mankind be it said) but very seldom attended to: in India, it is particularly neglected; so that even the day when it returns is not known, nor marked by any single act of devotion. It appears to me necessary to religion to bring it to one's serious attention at fixed periods. For the want of this, the English in India have less virtue in them than elsewhere, and cannot impress the natives with a good idea of our religion.

I AM. Over the gate of the temple of Delphos was placed the word εἶ, according to Plutarch signifying 'Thou Art' —a confession of the nothingness of man, and a homage worthy of the Divinity to whom alone appertains existence. How well does this Pagan inscription agree with the I AM of Holy Writ."

On the following day the young traveller left Mynpooree, and on the 10th he crossed the confines of the Company's territories. The narrative of his travels cannot be carried on better than in his own words:

"*March 9th.*—From Ghurriwal to Shekoabad. A battalion of sepoys was encamped at the latter place. I saw nothing, however, of any of the officers. It is a strange circumstance that, so far from all white faces, and not having seen one since quitting Futtehghur, I should not have greedily seized

upon this opportunity of obtaining society. I did not, however, for reasons peculiar, I believe, to my own disposition. It seems equally strange that no one here should have thought me worthy of notice.

March 10*th*.—From Shekoabad to Ferozabad. I this morning quitted the Company's territories. Ferozabad belongs to Scindiah, and is part of General Perron's Jaghire. The aumil, or governor of the place, came to pay his respects. He is a civil, shrewd, sensible man. He had heard the news of the peace, and inquired if a monarchy had been restored in France. Our conversation was chiefly political; and he observed, turning to my moonshee, who was in the tent, that the English were the only nation who could defeat the French, and that this was owing to their navy. He made many other clever observations; among others, he said that the design of the French in invading Egypt was clearly to forward their plans upon India; and concluded by observing that he did not think it would be a lasting Peace. I never met with a native of India who appeared to have such rational ideas of European politics. He was a native of Lahore, and his ancestors were Oosbeck Tartars.

March 11*th*.—From Ferozabad to Eatimadpoor. On the road I frequently passed ruins of palaces and mausoleums."

The sight of these old ruins seems to have thrown him again into a contemplative mood; for when he reached the halting-ground he opened his Commonplace Book, and recorded the following boyish remarks:

"ADVICE.—The generality of mankind are very fond of giving advice, and that on the most trivial subject. 'If you will take my advice' is in every man's mouth on every occasion. Some force it upon you: if you believe them, it proceeds entirely from anxiety for your welfare, whereas it is in general to gratify a talkative disposition, or display their knowledge

and wisdom. There are others who expect, should you ask their advice, that you must of course act according to it, and should you not do so, feel themselves highly insulted. I would, therefore, recommend every one (unless it be on matters of great importance) to act according to the dictates of one's own judgment; or if this is not to be depended upon, he should give his advisers to understand that he is still determined to maintain a reference to his own decision. If you are advised by a thousand persons, you will probably receive a thousand different opinions. Trust to your own judgment, after having maturely considered the circumstances of your case, and, although you may sometimes err, your decision will often prove just.—[*Eatimadpoor Camp, March* 11*th*, *Thursday*, 1802.]

Dispositions of Children.—I have frequently been led to consider how far from the dispositions of children we may form a just idea of the characters they will support as men. I am almost induced by reflection to believe, that those tempers which appear the worst in infancy may produce the finest characters in manhood. Obstinacy in the child becomes Resolution in the man. Cunning is but the prognostic of Wisdom. Sullenness grows up to be Patience. And in Fierceness are planted the seeds of Courage. I should never be grieved at seeing a child commit a theft and avoid all detection, because I should believe that when a man he would be enabled to negotiate a treaty with skill, head an army with address, or even govern a nation with ability. But these symptoms must be properly managed to produce those good effects, for they are as liable to a wrong turn as a right one, and then they are the forerunners of the blackest passions. A public school is the proper stage for such dispositions to act upon. If, again, we examine those tempers which parents are so fond of observing in their offspring, we shall find, I think, that they are capable of being extremely injurious. I have known a fond mother delight in the very passions of her darling boy, because when the storm had once blown over the sky became again serene and calm, little aware that if this hastiness was not

rooted out before the age of manhood, it would expose her son to numberless perils, universal quarrels, and the general detestation of society. When I hear a child spoken of as being as mild as a lamb, as pliable as a twig, and as submitting without a murmur to all treatment, I cannot avoid the reflection that he will be a weak man. Yet may those tempers be so educated (for I cannot use a word more expressive of my meaning) as to produce nothing but virtuous and enviable characters. Education, in fact, is the sculptor of men's minds, and from it alone can the most conspicuous virtues and most contemptible vices be engrafted in the bosoms of mankind." *—[*Eatimadpoor Camp, March* 11*th*, 1802.]

The next stage brought the young traveller to Agra, then a city garrisoned by Mahratta troops, under a Dutch commander. To the English in India it was little known except by report, and Charles Metcalfe, when he explored the wonders of the Taj-Mahal, trod where few of his countrymen had trodden, and sate down to describe in letters and journals what had seldom at that time been described by an English pen. Half a century has passed away, and the Taj has become the standing lion of the English traveller and the stock-subject of the English journalist. But custom cannot stale its infinite variety; and every new writer has something new to say about it. To young Metcalfe it appeared as the realisation of the Legendary and Traditional, with all the charm of freshness about it. He said that it was very beautiful, and "beyond description;" but that it wanted grandeur, and suggested

* "I think a public school is not the proper education of these dispositions; for they are too weak and too pliant to resist the temptations to which they will there be exposed." —C. M.

no solemn thoughts. The entries in his journal are brief:

"*March* 12*th*.—From Eatimadpoor to Agra. The eye was everywhere struck with the view of heaps of ruins, lamenting in forcible language the oppressive ravages of Time. A considerable time elapsed before I could get my baggage over the river—the elephants swam. Whilst my tents were preparing, I took up my quarters in the Taj-Mahal. This is said by many—among others by the artist Zoffany—to be the finest building in the world. To attempt to describe it would be presumption, for it is far above description. Shah Jehan is buried here with his wife; this building was originally intended for her, and it was his design to have built a fellow to it on the opposite side of the river for himself. The ground for the purpose was enclosed with a wall, which still remains, though in a very ruinous condition. The centre building of this wonderful edifice is composed entirely of white marble, inlined with different colored marbles, cornelians, agates, and other curious stones, in the form of flowers, ribbons, &c., &c., which are executed with wonderful nicety and real taste. I went to the summit of the minaret. They are more elevated than those of Lucknow, and present a very fine view of the fort and town.

13*th*.—I breakfasted by invitation with the Dutch commander, Colonel J. Hessing. I found with him his son, who commanded in the engagement at Oujein, where his battalions were defeated; a Mr. Marshall, an Englishman; and two others, whose names I have not learnt. The breakfast consisted of kedgeree (rice and eggs), fish, game, fowls, curry and rice, stews, oranges, pears, pomegranates, eggs, bread and butter, cakes of all kinds, pancakes, and a number of other dishes, which have escaped my recollection—among others, I had forgotten to enumerate cheese. The Dutchman was as polite as a Dutchman could be, and very well-meaning I am certain. I walked over some of the buildings. They are in general of

marble, beautifully inlaid, and admirably executed. The roofs of many have been silver. These, however, have fallen a prey to the destroying hands of the Mahrattas, who have even stripped the rooms of the leaves of gold which covered the flowers in many places. Some of the rooms are lined with small mirrors. I was conducted by Mr. Marshall and another gentleman, who showed me the place where Shah Jehan was confined while his sons were contending for his empire. It is a small octagon room where the ruler of all India spent this wretched portion of his life, not in the command of a single slave. The walls were white, but in many places the plaster had dropped, and disclosed a colored wall, with gold and silver ornaments. It is said that the Emperor had it whitewashed that he might not be troubled with the sight of such pernicious metals."

On the following day he "breakfasted and dined with the Dutchman, and examined the Taj-Mahal with more attention." It was a happy day, for his affectionate heart was gladdened by the receipt of a letter from his friend Sherer, which he sate down at once to answer. "I cannot better," he wrote, "express the joy I feel at receiving yours of the 1st, than by answering it immediately. It has not been in my hands ten minutes. It finds me an inmate of the far-famed Taj-Mahal at Agra." "It is above description," he added; "but I may endeavor to give you an idea of its materials." And then he went on to speak of the wonderful mosaic, of the precious stones inlaid, of the elegant devices—but confessed that there was something unsatisfactory in it all. "If," he wrote—and the passage is worth more than whole pages of such description—"if you are not already tired of the subject, I will

tell you the impression that all this beauty and elegance left upon my mind. Although I have by no means done it justice, yet you will be surprised when I tell you it left *no* impression upon my mind; I was not inspired with any of those sentiments of awe, delight, or reverence with which I have viewed much less magnificent buildings, particularly the colleges of the universities, or with which I have heard the echo of my own footsteps even in the cloisters of my much-loved Eton. Ah, Sherer, those were days of real happiness! In those very cloisters has my youthful and ardent imagination planned to itself a life of greatness, glory, and virtue — there have I been the orator, and discussed important topics in the Senate-house— there have I been the statesman prescribing terms to the wondering nations of Europe—there have I concluded peaces, commanded armies, or headed a party struggling for liberty; or, descending from those lofty views, there have I fancied myself in private life, in the enjoyment of domestic happiness, the honored patron of a neighbouring hamlet. How crushed are all my hopes, my honors, and my fancied glories! But you will say I am wandering, and in looking over the last page I find that I am." And then he reverted to the wonders of the Taj; but the description is dull and prosaic after such "wandering" as this.*

* The concluding passage of this letter may be given in a note. There are some characteristic touches in it: "I will tell you something in my next as well of my plans, and believe me I feel sincerely flattered that I possess any friends, and particularly such a friend, who *do* take an interest in my concerns. I perfectly agree with you about the essay, and only regret that any of my unshapen things should be exposed to the public eye. You shall have my sentiments of the Peace shortly. In the mean time, I entreat you to write and tell Hamilton to do so, from whom I have not received one

On the 15th of March, Charles Metcalfe turned his back upon Agra, and proceeded upon his journey to Scindiah's Court. On the evening of that day, halting at Mundakor, he wrote again to his friend Sherer. After having dismissed one moonshee because he was stupid, and another because he was insolent, the young student had found a third, who was neither; and as he was as ready to appreciate good qualities as he was to resent bad ones in his native instructors, he had come to the resolution, after leaving College, to reward the services of the man to whom he believed himself so much indebted for the proficiency which, during his year's residence in Calcutta, he had acquired in the knowledge of the native languages. What shape the young writer's gratitude assumed may be gathered from the following letter, which deserves record as a characteristic manifestation of the kindliness and generosity of the writer:*

CHARLES METCALFE TO J. W. SHERER.

"Camp of the Anglo-Mahratta Allied Forces,
Head-quarters, Mindakor, March 15, 1802.

"My dear Sherer,—My letter of yesterday should have sufficed you for the present had I not forgotten in it to men-

line. I am quite alone, and have for a long time been so, and shall continue so for another month or two, unless I am picked up by our friend Jeswunt Rao Holkar, who has planted himself in my road. I have a party of Company's sepoys, to which I receive a reinforcement of fifty Mahrattas; but I shall prefer negotiating my way instead of forcing it. I have been strongly advised to stop here by the Resident and others; but with an object in view, I am the most restless fellow in the world, and always push to the end of it."

* On the following day he wrote in his Common-place Book:—"*Hilal-ood-deen.*—I have determined to settle 20 rupees per month upon this man, who so well deserves all that I can do for him. This added to his other salaries will render him extremely comfortable." — [*Futtehpore Camp, March 16th*, 1802.]

Nearly a year afterwards he wrote opposite to this passage: — "I was dissuaded from this as being beyond my means. I gave 200 rupees."— [*Feb. 19th*, 1803.]

tion a subject which I particularly wished to write to you upon. It relates to our common friend Hilal-ood-deen. He is the only native of India for whom I entertain any particular esteem, which his merits loudly demand. It is no fault of his that I am not at this moment a tolerable proficient in some one or other of the Oriental languages. I am ashamed to say he was thrown away upon me. He has now to deal with a better subject, Jenkins,* who will do him the justice he deserves. The good old man must have thought it very extraordinary that I should have left Calcutta without giving him any memorial of my regard: the reasons why I did so have been explained in a letter to Hamilton. I have been considering of the means by which I can do him some *permanent* service; and I think that a monthly allowance will be the most so. Tell him, therefore, that he is to consider himself entitled to twenty rupees per month from January last inclusive. If I return to England, I must make amends for the loss of this allowance by a sum of some small value, but if I remain in India, it will continue to Hilal's death, unless I am carried off before him. It is a slight recompense, and by no means comes up to my wishes; but, as I have not the slightest idea of my own salary, and as, exclusive of camp equipage and travelling expenses, I am obliged, for the sake of appearance, to maintain a much larger establishment than I ever should have done in Calcutta, the sum which I have set apart for Hilal-ood-deen is as considerable as my ability, consistent with convenience, will admit of; this, however, I shall not feel in the least burdensome, and only regret that it cannot be larger. As it is, it may serve to add to his comforts. I will shortly contrive some means for his being regularly supplied; yet you must be aware that I must have some trifling increase before I can effect this. Give him, however, to understand that this allowance is to commence from the 1st of January, 1802, and to continue until some circumstances as above mentioned shall interfere to prevent it. I, however, by no means consider this trifling recompense as acquitting me from further obligation;

* The late Sir Richard Jenkins, G.C.B.

on the contrary, Hilal-ood-deen will ever have a strong claim to any services I may be able to render him or his family, and in thus disposing of any benefits, in addition to gratifying my own sentiments of gratitude, I shall have the satisfaction of serving a man of solid merit and intrinsic worth.

"I am not at all qualified to speak on the Peace, yet I think we ought to have made a better. I by no means approve of extensive territories, yet the French, I think, come too well off. The reserve of their East-Indian territories ought to have been one article. All the resignations are on our part. In fact, what France did not gain by the War, she has acquired by the Peace —all her colonial possessions. The subtle, cunning, or mean policy of Bonaparte has been manifest in the invasion of Portugal, the integrity of which is the greatest point which we have gained. For the sake of indemnification at a peace, he did not scruple to carry war and devastation into a defenceless country without even a plea; he has completely succeeded, for this country, the restoration of which is the most favorable article, was not invaded until the year 1801, in which year peace was made. This treaty, I think, is more for the honor than the interest of our country. We reserve quite enough, yet grant our enemies too much. Yet do we see Great Britain in her glory: take back, she says, those possessions my valiant sons have won, but restore peace, liberty, and happiness to all the nations of Europe groaning under your oppression. By no means think that I object to it; peace was necessary to all the world, and on the whole this is at least a glorious one.

"I have never experienced any comfort in India until of late, since I have been travelling quite alone. I do nothing but read English, Latin, and French, and I have procured another small but good selection of books. I rise early, read constantly, eat heartily, and sleep soundly—four blessings I never before enjoyed in India. I never allow myself to think of England, and I feel the good effects of my resolution, though my views with respect to it are the same as ever. I have no room to tell you all my plans. Persuade Hamilton to write; I have

not had a word from him in answer to either of my letters. Remember me to him and Wood. Lord W. did not see the second and third essays. Depend upon it I feel more gratified by his approbation than I should by the prize itself. Buchanan* appears to have been officiating priest on the occasion, and I cannot admit that his judgment was by any means good; remember, I speak of the first lot—I know nothing of the others, not having seen them.

"Yours very sincerely,
"C. T. METCALFE.

"N.B. I have entirely deserted Oriental literature for the present, and shall see the arrivals of yesterday in a short time turning up their noses—*en passant* [blood must have blood; I'll give you Gil for Gil†], who are the hopes of the rising generation?"

The reflections on the Peace, set forth in this letter, seem to have set the young politician thinking about the condition of the armies of Europe; and on the following evening, halting at Futtehpore, he made this entry in his Common-place Book:

"ARMY.—A very unjust opinion has of late been entertained by a certain description of persons, that the English army does not contain soldiers equal to the French. Their valor is never disputed; but it is asserted that they are not such good soldiers. Experience teaches us that this opinion is founded upon error, or rather *un*founded. In the campaign of 1799, in Holland, the superiority of our soldiers was evinced in every engagement, even in that immediately preceding the retreat of our army. They were always victorious, and only the adverse fortune which had attended the allies in Switzerland occasioned our retreat. The French were by these means

* The Rev. Claudius Buchanan, Vice-Provost of the College. I find a letter from him to Metcalfe, written at this time, in which he says—"Some gentlemen were praising your essay lately, when an old civilian observed, he did not see it was anything remarkable. 'Pray, can you do as well, John?' On which John said that he thought he could, if he had time."

† The reference is to some colloquialisms of Dr. Gilchrist.

enabled to send fresh troops to Holland; and immense reinforcements were every day arriving. Again, in Egypt, the superiority of our soldiers was everywhere manifest against legions, even which had gained the title of Invincible. In fact, wherever the abilities of our common soldiers have been put to the test they have universally triumphed. The English army is in want of generals and officers."—[*Futtehpore Camp, March 16th*, 1802.]

On the 17th of March, Metcalfe left Futtehpore, and on his way to Radowul his "baggage was attacked by the banditti of the country, who were repulsed." Many of his marches, at this time, were performed by moonlight. The increasing richness and beauty of the country through which he passed excited pleasurable emotions in the mind of the young traveller; and day after day, as he encamped "under the elegantly-spreading banyan-tree," or "in a most elegant grove of banyan-trees, every one of which is in itself a grove," he recorded his favorable impressions of the abundant fertility and the romantic picturesqueness of the country of Mahrattas. Here and there he came up with battalions of Perron's troops, and received complimentary presents, and visits, not merely of compliment, from their officers.* At other places he was

* Under date March 22nd, he writes:—"*Pilowdit to Koshulghur.*—At the latter I found encamped four more battalions of Perron's troops. One of the officers came to visit me—anxious to hear of his father, Colonel ——. . . . . I obtained some information from him relative to the Mahratta service. It appears that promotion depends on General Perron, who is naturally disposed to favor his own countrymen. So far, however, as the rank of captain, every officer obtains a step annually—*i. e.* in four years a man must be a captain. The rule extends no higher. The uniform of the sepoys is the same as the Company's; so are the accoutrements, with the exception that they carry a sword as well as a bayonet and musket. The band, which was in full tune, as they marched by my little camp, played nothing but marches—perfectly in the European style."

warned of the contiguity of Holkar's marauding bands; and "obliged to keep a sharp look out." But these things did not much to disturb his tranquillity, or break in upon his meditations. Even in the near neighbourhood of the banditti his habit of moralising was not to be repressed, and we find him, with Holkar's troops within a few miles of him, opening his Common-place Book, and thus recording his opinion on the formation of character:

"DISPOSITIONS OF CHILDREN.—In the 307th number of the *Spectator*, I find that the doctrine of natural abilities is supported: viz., the Author, or his Correspondent, for they are in this instance evidently one and the same, founds his observations on the principle that 'Nothing but Nature can qualify a man for any science.' The authorities in support of this argument are numerous; and seem almost of themselves capable of overthrowing every opposition. Socrates stands at the head. Dr. South and a Spanish physician, Juan Hirartes, are quoted; and the support of the *Spectator* is not the most insignificant. It almost appears the highest presumption even to think differently from such powerful thinkers, but as every one, the humblest and youngest individual, has and will ever have an opinion of his own, until something occurs to destroy it, I cannot help dissenting from the above decision; and am influenced by the following ideas in spite of the great authors above mentioned. However scattered—however inferior they are, still they are those which have weight with me. I would attribute everything to education. When I say 'Education,' I do not mean the period of life generally so called—that period which commences with the Alphabet and is allowed to conclude with College—but the whole extent of our life, from the Womb to the Grave—from Birth to Death; or at least as high up as the age of twenty-six or thirty. The education of the child commenced from the time in which he is

able to see, or imagine anything. Something may even depend upon the article on which first the mind rests; a great deal depends on the woman to whom his first months are entrusted; and I should look upon the period from birth to the age of *six* to be more important than any succeeding one. Chance has a great influence in this period;—for instance, the accident of being left alone in the dark, and any uncouth noise or circumstance occurring, might leave an impression of horror upon an infant mind which would probably accompany it to the grave. This I assert from unanswerable experience. The woman to whom my infant years were entrusted used to convey me, by way of punishment, to a dark room, and represent the coming of the *Old Man* (a famous bug-bear in the mouths of nurses) as every minute to be expected. Here was I left, whilst probably the foolish woman would groan, and make use of several other means to terrify me. The consequence was, that throughout my childish and boyish years, I was a prey to the most horrid fears; and such an effect has this treatment had upon my imagination, that I am even now much weaker on this point than I could wish to be.* Numberless apparently trifling circumstances teem with great events. A child from seeing any bleeding animal in the cries of death, might become a being of humanity or cowardice, accordingly as this impression was succeeded by others which might bend it the one way or the other. Thus every virtue, every vice, would, I think, find its origin in some such circumstance. As to abilities, I conceive them to be all acquired by education; and when we see abilities in a Clown, we are not to consider them as the offspring of nature, for a Clown equally with a Peer has an education, though of a different nature. Hence we meet with people in the humblest walks of life who would shine in any character, if properly trained to it, but their abilities are acquired. And it appears to me that Dr. South carries his argument to a very extraordinary extent,

* This passage has been cited in the first chapter of these Memoirs; but it is reproduced here that the continuity of the young essayist's argument may not be impaired.

when he almost asserts that there are born lawyers, churchmen, ploughmen, soldiers, politicians, merchants, mechanics, tradesmen, some one thing or another. I believe the human mind at its birth to be as a blank sheet of paper, which receives various tints or impressions—stains or embellishments—according to the hands into which it may fall. I know not if any one ever had the same thoughts upon this subject, though I have some faint recollection of hearing that Locke *had.* I should be happy in the accordance of so illustrious an author."—[*Camp, Munapura, March* 23*rd*, 1802.]

At Kotah, it became apparent to him, for the first time, that he was a person of some consequence, and he was compelled to act a dignified official part. The Dewan, or minister of Zalim Singh, came to pay him a visit of ceremony, which it was his duty on the following day to return. Through streets lined with wondering inhabitants, "as if to view some strange spectacle," the young diplomatist went forth, more full of wonder than all the rest. He could not help reflecting on the little notice that would have been taken of him on entering any country town in England; and perhaps in his young ambition he may have begun to think that Indian official life has its compensations after all. The incident is thus detailed in his journal:

"*April* 2*nd*, *Kotah.*—In the afternoon [the Dewan] came to pay the complimentary visit. I had spread a white cloth over the satringee in the tent. I received him and his relations and friends before the tent, and after having embraced them led them in. I seated myself with them according to the Hindostanee custom, and after the ceremony of distributing Pan and Attr, ordered the presents to be brought, consisting of a

gold watch, a brace of pistols, penknife, scissors, and Hindavi manuscript curiously minute. To my great annoyance, he accepted the whole, which I had never intended, and which is not a very general practice.

April 3rd.—The necessity of returning the visit detained me here this day. The streets were lined with inhabitants as if to view some strange spectacle. I could not help reflecting with what indifference I should be suffered to pass into a town in England, and yet how much happier I should be. I was received with the same ceremony which I had practised. The presents consisted of four shawls, three pieces of muslin, one of silk, and one of orange-coloured cloth."

After a slight detention, caused by the accidental death of one of his followers, and the kindly desire of the young diplomatist to allow time for the friends of the deceased to "perform their last duties" to him, and a subsequent halt in expectation of receiving letters from Colonel Collins, Charles Metcalfe pushed on, through a bleak, barren country, differing greatly from the fertile regions between Agra and Kotah, to Oujein.* And on the 16th of

* The following descriptive passages, from the young writer's journal, are worth giving:

"*April* 6.—Waited till after breakfast for letters from Colonel Collins. Receiving none, marched, with thirty-eight men from the Rajah, and my Havildar's guard, to Humihuttea, distant eight coss through the most savage, bleak, dreary desert I ever had any idea of—one vast rocky plain or plain rock, for there was scarcely an inch of earth, and wherever flowers grew, they were without a single leaf; every tree that appeared had its branches entirely bare. In the midst of this wild stands Juypoora, like Palmyra or Tadmor in the Desert—a spot which appears to great advantage, for between Rota and it, a distance of ten miles, there was not an inhabitant nor a hut, nor a single drop of water. The wind, blowing as if through a furnace, was too high to admit of my using any chatteh[1], so that I was exposed on my elephant to the burning rays of the sun, the reflexion from the rock, and the scorching influence of the wind; all these circumstances rendered me unwell during the day and night.

"*March* 9.—Jhalsepatam—five coss.

[1] A chatteh is a large umbrella, made generally of the leaves of the plantain.

April he wrote the words "*Labor Ultimus*" in his journal. "After a long march," he recorded elsewhere, "rendered pleasanter by my Resolution and Recreation than I expected to find it, I arrived at Oujein." There he became a member of Colonel Collins's family, and entered upon the duties of his appointment.

But he had leisure still to discourse of Love and Friendship, and there was no growth of new attachments at Oujein to displace the old. The truth being told, it must appear that Charles Metcalfe, at this time, was driven to seek solace in reminiscences of the past. Disappointed, vexed, sometimes perhaps irritated, he peopled his lonely tent with the images of his absent friends, and as he pored over the letters of some beloved correspondents, or looked eagerly for the coming of the post, thought that he was again in London or Calcutta. The entries in his Common-place Book show what was the warmth of his young affections:

"ATTACHMENTS.—Attachment to a female is generally inseparable from desire; yet when this is not the case, how much more tender and pure it is! The effect Miss D——'s virtue, sense, and beauty had, and still have, upon my mind, can never, I think, be effaced. Yet was my attachment pure and warm, but unaccompanied with any desire. I longed for her heart. * * * The love of a boy of fifteen is a laughable subject;

The road was tolerably good, the land as wild as before. This country differs very much from the beautifully fertile and well cultivated lands between Agra and Kotah. Here, whenever a tree has sprung up, the soil appears to confess its inability to support it, and has left it, seemingly, to wither. Whether this be owing to the seasons or the barren soil I know not; but the branches of every tree are completely bare. This country may very properly be called 'India Petræa,' for it is one continued rock."

and is considered too childish to be lasting. Two years of absence have only served to strengthen the most disinterested attachment to her, and her sensible letters have heightened my admiration. She is far removed from any thoughts of obtaining her hand, and good sense and reason prohibit my aspiring to it. Her happiness is my first wish in preference to my own; and whoever the happy man to whose arms she is consigned, may he prove worthy of the inestimable blessing.—[*Camp near Oujein, April 25th*, 1802.]

NEGLECT OF FRIENDS.—How painful is the neglect of friends, or the appearance of it! Although it is more than probable that my correspondence has not been slighted, and that the friend of my heart has actually written to me,* yet the doubt and anxiety occasioned in my mind by the non-arrival of his letters are really tormenting. With what eagerness do I wait for the coming of the post, and when my hopes are daily disappointed, with what impatience do I look forward to the next morning, and the possibility of their being realised. I may say with Rousseau, I was born for friendship; but, alas! how few are—how few feel it in its sincerity—how often is it abused—how very few look upon it as more than a temporary intimacy, which after separation is no longer to be maintained."—[*Camp near Oujein, April 25th.*]

The official connexion of Charles Metcalfe at this time with Scindiah's Court was brief and unsatisfactory. "My situation was very disagreeable," he wrote in his journal, before he had been more than a few weeks attached to the Residency; and he very soon formed the resolution of seeking more congenial employment elsewhere. But, painful and em-

* I believe that the friend here alluded to was Mr. Terrick Hamilton, then a student in the college, and afterwards a not undistinguished member of the Madras Civil Service—one of the few of Charles Metcalfe's old friends and associates now living. The missing letters were afterwards received. The friend had not been neglectful.

barrassing as was his position, he was becoming more reconciled to Indian life. The great panacea of action had been applied, with unfailing efficacy, to the mental ailments of the eager youth; and though his home-sickness had not been wholly subdued, it had considerably abated. He no longer felt that he was stagnating. The great world was opening out before him.

So it may be believed that when, in the summer of 1802, Charles Metcalfe received, from his parents, answers to the letters which he had written from Calcutta in the preceding year, imploring permission to return to England, and found that those answers gave no encouragement to the project of abandoning the profession which he had entered, the denial inflicted upon him less pain than he had anticipated. He had begun to take new views of life, and of life's duties. Perhaps it had become apparent to him that distinction might be achieved in the East as rapidly as in the West. All his friends in India, old and young, had dissuaded him from the projeet of returning to England, and now the letters of his parents brought conviction to his mind that he could not take the rash step without plunging them in deepest grief. Most kindly, but still most firmly, did Major Metcalfe reply to the solicitations of his son. How wise his counsel was need not be told:

FROM MAJOR METCALFE TO CHARLES METCALFE.

"Feb. 24, 1802.

"My dear Charles,—Your letter of the 30th of June reached me this day, and has, of course, caused much uneasiness

to your mother and me. The two letters you allude to have not yet been received. On a retrospect of my own feelings with regard to my children, I can with great truth declare, that their care, comfort, and establishment in life has been the great object of my endeavors. If I had considered my own inclination, I should never have suffered your brother or you to leave this country. In the vale of life, the company of two sons, of whose abilities and acquirements any father might be proud, would have been a solace that a selfish mind would readily embrace; but, looking forward to the period when I must pay the debt of Nature, it became an indisputable duty to give up personal enjoyment for their future welfare, and to consider how to place them in the most advantageous situations. Judge then, my dear Charles, what I experienced at finding you so dissatisfied with your station in the Civil Service, after so short a trial. Let me ask you, in what line of life I could have placed you that could hold out any prospect of a direct support, much less of a future independence? The Army and Navy you always objected to; and with respect to your present idea of a clerkship in the Secretary of State's office, if I could have obtained such an appointment, the situation is neither so pleasant nor so profitable as a clerk in a merchant's counting-house—a place which you would soon discover to be too degrading for any son of your father's. That the prospect in Bengal always appears unpromising on first entering into the service, is a fact I have innumerable instances to prove; and many men now in England with large fortunes, and several in Bengal in good circumstances, held the same language as you now do. I remember well my own feelings when I was an ensign, and had been in the country about three months. I one morning (in a fit of the bile) waited on the commanding officer with an intention to resign the service, and return to England. Fortunately for me, the conversation at breakfast took a pleasant turn, in which I bore an active part, and a hearty fit of laughter got the better of my *blue devils.* I returned to my quarters with a determination to persevere; and by that prudent reso-

lution have reached the situation which I now hold. Let my example not be thought unworthy of being followed by my sons; and I shall look with anxiety for your next letter being written in better spirits than the one now before me.

"God bless you, my dear Charles; let me hear from you by every opportunity.

"Your most affectionate father,

"THOMAS T. METCALFE."

From his mother the young writer received letters couched in more emphatic language than this. Mrs. Metcalfe was a woman of strong sense and of plain discourse. She did not deal in half-truths, and was not given to reservations. She knew that the prosperity of her son's career depended upon his continuance in India, and she was resolute not to encourage a humor which, in her convictions, was fraught with ruin. So she went straight to the point, and told her son that he ought to be ashamed of his instability; that he did not know his own mind; that he talked about distinguishing himself in England, but that he really thought more of indulging a boyish fancy; that he had been reading too much and had got the vapors; and that it would be good for him to "dissipate" a little. A little more tenderness would not have spoilt the letters, but there was wonderful sagacity in them. They touched the whole matter as with a needle's point—*rem acu tetigerunt*—and Charles Metcalfe must have felt their prickings.*

* A few extracts from these letters may be given in a note:—"Your letters by the *Georgiana* have given your father and myself little satisfaction. We did not expect such, and are, therefore, the more chagrined. In-

Fearful as they were lest, under the influence of the despondency which beset him during his first year of probation, their son might be tempted to abandon all his fair prospects of success, and precipitately to return to England, it was with no common satisfaction that the elder Metcalfes learnt that Charles had been appointed an assistant to their "old friend Jack Collins," and was on his way to Scindiah's Court. And how much this satisfaction was enhanced by the assurances they received from all quarters that their son was treading worthily the appointed path, and was already considered a youth of uncommon promise, may be gathered from Major Metcalfe's subsequent letters:

FROM MAJOR METCALFE TO CHARLES METCALFE.

"India-House, July 28, 1802.

"My dear Charles,—I received your short epistle informing me of your appointment to the Arabian embassy; and

stead of your parents being the objects of your wish to relinquish so important a situation, if you examine your heart, you will find it is Miss D—— . . . . Your father has not the means or interest to get even the paltry appointment of a clerk in Lord Grenville's office; and if he had, there you might stay, whatever were your abilities. . . . . If you are ambitious, the field is open before you where you are; and in no place will you stand so good a chance. . . . . You will laugh at my sending you out a box of pills by Miss S——; but I think you are bilious, and they will be of great service."—[*April 8th*, 1802.]

"If you have a grain of ambition, you are in the field for it, and the ball is at your foot. . . . . What is it you want? With friends, money, attention, credit, good sense, abilities, and a prospect before you which hundreds, I may say thousands in that country have not, you want, I fear, my dear Charles, a contented mind. . . . . You study too much. You should dissipate a little. On account of your health, you should relax. Ride on horseback. When intense thinking is joined with the want of exercise, the consequences must be bad."—[*March 14th*, 1802.]

"I do not know what to say to alleviate your seemingly discontented mind. . . . . I feel most severely your letters, and think it a great misfortune that you should have taken so great a dislike to a situation which seems best calculated to bring forth your abilities. It shows a want of energy, a want of manliness, to be so cast down."—[*November 24th*, 1802.]

while I was writing to you by the way of Constantinople received an account from Mr. Balfour of your destination being changed to the assistantship to my old friend Jack Collins—the situation of all others which accords most with my wishes, and I hope this letter will find you happily situated with the man who of all others in India is most interested in the welfare of my son. You are now in the high road to diplomatic fame, and as the country languages are to be acquired in greater perfection where you are stationed than in Calcutta, and your attention will be called officially to the general politics of India, my expectations are sanguine you will soon be considered well qualified for the situation Government has placed you in, and which must of course lead to something better in time. . . . .

"Tell Collins I saw his boys lately; they are going on extremely well, and as I intend giving the eldest my best nomination when he is of the proper age, you will have to take as much care of him as I am convinced his father will take of you.

"THOMAS T. METCALFE."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"August 30, 1802.

"MY DEAR CHARLES,—In a few days after I sent off my last letter, Colonel Monson, to our great surprise, made his appearance, and gave us the most satisfactory account of your progress to Agra, with several particulars respecting health, &c., that made your mother and me completely happy, feeling as we naturally do more interested in the welfare of you and your brother, who are removed to so great a distance, than for the children immediately under our eye. Our whole mind is constantly employed in thinking of your prospects in life; and as nothing can be more flattering than the commencement of your public line, I am sanguine in my expectations that you will continue to reflect honor upon your father. Indeed, my

dear boy, I feel the most heartfelt pleasure at the accounts I receive from all quarters about you, and only regret that you have not been a little more communicative about yourself, but look forward in expectation that when you are settled in your diplomatic employment you will make amends by frequent accounts of yourself and my friend the Resident. The Marquis (Wellesley) has desired to have a successor appointed, and in his letter of the 1st of April, mentions an intention of embarking for England in December, 1802, or January, 1803. I amof opinion thatwe shall not appoint a new Governor-General till he arrives, and think Lord Castlereagh is likely to be the man—in which case, I think I shall be enabled to make a favorable impression both for Collins and you, as I am upon good terms with Lord C.

"Tell Collins his charming boys are returned to school. With love to him, and every blessing a father can bestow,

"I remain, my dear fellow,

"Your most affectionate parent,

"THOMAS T. METCALFE."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

[Without date.]

"MY DEAR CHARLES,—The accounts I have received from various quarters of your character and general conduct is so flattering, that I assure your mother with confidence you will turn out a distinguished man when an opportunity offers of bringing your talents forward; and your parents want nothing to complete their happiness but information from yourself, that you are satisfied with your present situation. The share of good sense you are evidently master of, will, I trust, reconcile you to the line of life you are placed in, and convince you of the impossibility of a compliance with your former request. I think you did right in selling your books, as your library was by far too large to travel about with; and when you get a settled situation, I will supply you with as many as you may write for.

"Tell my friend Collins I saw his boys yesterday. They are all we can wish.

"The Marquis's conduct to you has made a deep impression on my mind. I shall feel more devoted to him than to any other man who was ever in high station. His last letter, dated in April, intimates an intention of leaving India in December or January, and desires the Directors to appoint a successor. But when he receives a *request* from the Court as well as from Mr. Addington to remain another year, I think there is no doubt of his continuing. The change in the office of President of the Board of Commissioners is an advantage to the Public and Company. Lord Castlereagh is the most promising young man in England. He comes nearer to Mr. Pitt than any other person in public life. I stand well with him and the Minister —an object of no other consequence than as it may furnish the opportunity of promoting the interests of my two sons. Give my unfeigned love to Collins. Let us hear from you frequently, to give happiness to

"THOMAS T. METCALFE."

But long before these last letters had reached Charles Metcalfe, he had turned his back upon Scindiah's Court, and bidden adieu to his father's "old friend Jack Collins." A trial of a few weeks satisfied him that he could not serve under the Resident; so he made up his mind to resign his appointment. What the immediate cause of the rupture may have been I know not. In all probability it resulted from general incompatibility and an aggregation of minute circumstances not easily to be described. Something, however, may be gathered, in spite of the unavoidable omissions, from the following characteristic letter:

CHARLES METCALFE TO J. W. SHERER.

"Camp near Abzunpoor, June 20, 1802.

"My dear Sherer,— . . . You cannot surely be sincere when you speak of any deficiency of the Upper Story. I cannot suffer that to pass without asking you where is this deficiency? I believe all men to possess a conscious knowledge of their own powers, and if you are allowed to depreciate those which you possess, you at the same time depreciate those of every one else, for as there are very few indeed, nor do I know of any, who would not acknowledge your superiority, so in proportion as you undervalue yourself every one must feel his ideas of his own qualifications sinking; and you are probably the only man who would not wish to think the best of himself. We all (*i. e.* the thinking part) find something to regret in the plan which may have been pursued for our education. Were I disposed to lament that which is irretrievable, I should never cease to regret that I was removed from Eton at the time that I was. I left it at the age of fifteen, at a time when my ideas were, as it were, ripening—when I was attached to the studies in the pursuit of which I was engaged, had objects towards which I was directing my exertions, and had formed plans which promised success. Five years more might well have been spared to Eton and an university, after which there would have been ample time for India, if it was absolutely necessary that I should come here. However, the deed is done, and all my regrets could not recall it.

"I have more reason to lament what has passed since my arrival here, for I have more to reproach myself—I have suffered one precious year of my life to pass away without any adequate improvement. In the year 1801 I really acquired nothing, unless a smattering of an Oriental jargon be termed an acquisition. I suffered a very large library to be useless whence I might have extracted that which would have been of much more service to me than running about to tiffins and noisy parties, where instruction, and even amusement could never be

procured.* You surprise me much by what you say of C——; it is a proof that fear can have a good effect upon a mind which is not susceptible of emulation. C—— is one of those characters which, I know not why, seems generally to be much admired. The weaker part of his cotemporaries seem to consider him as their leader, and make it their study to flatter him. He has a good countenance, pleasing manners, a good heart, lively disposition, and, what has no trifling effect, an inclination to every species of extravagance and dissipation. I am not, therefore, surprised at his being liked by young fellows, but he seems to be admired equally by old. C——, P——, and some others of the same disposition, were, I thought, most noticed by the housekeepers of Calcutta; and it has struck me that such characters are the most liked by the generality of mankind. Young men are a sort of beings between boys and men, some verging towards the former, some towards the latter class, and you probably may have noticed, what has appeared to me, that the boyish part are the most encouraged. A young man who has read and observed, who has acquired a certain knowledge, some degree of judgment, some prudence, some experience, and the right of thinking for himself, who consequently must have some dignity of character, is considered to be aspiring to a sphere above his age, whereas the one who has a pretty face, smart manners, and who will be played *with*, talked *to*, and laughed *at*, is a fine lad, a fine young man. Such are the terms which I have heard bestowed upon C—— and P——, which said *lads* are boys of twenty, which surely is an age when boyish tricks ought not to be excusable. Let mankind say what they will, a pretty face is an excellent introduction, and before now I have had to regret the bad effects of an ugly phiz—particularly with the ladies. Never for a moment hesitate, under the idea of my being foolishly offended, to tell me what you think. Believe me, I am the last man who would at all take ill even your censure.

"I am always happy to be of your opinion, which in the present case carries conviction along with it, and I have much

* This must be accepted only with reference to the first few months of his residence in India.

satisfaction in telling you that I have acted according to it, for although I regret the want of public employment, which is to me the most agreeable of all employment, yet I have endeavored to gain what knowledge I could, and improve my ideas. My short stay at Scindiah's Court has prevented my knowledge being very complete, but in a short time one may observe something. There is great justice in your reproach, which, whether meant or not, I have applied to myself, respecting my injunctions of caution to you. I could, I know very well, have trusted to your judgment, which for the future I shall do. As to Collins, I scarcely know what to say. . . . I say that from my soul which I believe to be true, yet I am aware that it is possible that I may see things with a jaundiced eye, for his conduct towards me has been such that I have not words to express my contempt of it. . . . . Any general description of Collins will convey no idea of it; it is only from hearing particular anecdotes that you would be able to judge of his extraordinary character. To say the best of him, he is a man whom one ought immediately to quit.

"I perceive I have done nothing but write disquisitions in this long letter. With respect to yours, I am always best pleased when you commit your thoughts to paper. If the same is the case with mine, no apology is required; but if an excuse is required, you will find it in the total want of news, at which you cannot be much surprised. Are you acquainted with what has lately passed in Guzerat? We have had some disputes with the Dewan of the Rajah, or Guicowar, and our troops were in the beginning defeated. Sir William Clarke has gone into those parts, and has in his turn been victorious: the affair is not settled. The Peishwah regards it with a jealous eye, but I believe will, or rather can, never go farther.

"The Collector of this district is said to be a terrible Buhadoor. His Sebundee Corps is five hundred strong; he has fifty horsemen, and having the command of the Company's troops in his district, he never scruples to take some companies of regular Sepoys, which he terms his *Body-Guard.* I think, however, he had much better be looking about his district,

which is in complete disorder, than be sporting his grandeur in the Cantonments of Futtehghur. This country requires active, able, and experienced men.

"I cannot conclude without noticing your hospitable invitation. I will not, my dear friend, thank you, for I should thank an indifferent person for common civility. There is language which cannot flow either from the lips or the pen, which is spoken only in the heart, and in which I cannot express myself to you unless a sympathy of sentiment convey it from my breast to yours. There is no place I can come to with such satisfaction as your proffered mansion, but it is in full confidence that you will not suffer me to alter your method and plan of living; in fact, that you will not consider me a stranger. Kind remembrances to Wood. I wrote yesterday to Hamilton.

"Ever your sincere friend,

"C. T. METCALFE."

That Jack Collins and Charles Metcalfe had their differences, and could not agree to differ amicably and philosophically, is clear. The story is a very old one; within every man's experience; intelligible; without mystery. Colonel Collins was cold, imperious, and overbearing. He was known by the name of "King Collins;" and he had little toleration for those who did not recognise his sovereignty. He looked upon Charles Metcalfe as a vassal and as a boy. He stood upon his position and he stood upon his age. He exacted a deference which the youth was slow to concede; he claimed a superiority which was not willingly acknowledged. The boy thought the man arrogant and domineering. The man thought the boy forward and presumptuous. It is probable that both were right. It is almost a condition of early talent to be vain and self-sufficient. It does not much matter. The vanity and self-

sufficiency are soon rubbed off. But in the mean while it is hardly to be expected that age and experience should benignantly regard the manifestation of these qualities only as a sign of what is called in the above letter a "consciousness of power." Still, a little more toleration in such cases is to be desired; and it would have been well if the elder man had smiled at the self-sufficiency of his young friend, and borne with it for the sake of his finer qualities. Charles Metcalfe was, doubtless, fond of arguing, and King Collins did not like being argued with by a boy of seventeen.* This in a few plain words seems to have been the cause of their rupture. They parted with at least outward civility; and became sufficiently good friends—at a distance.†

* It was, doubtless, after some similar collision with an elder that, a few months afterwards, Charles Metcalfe wrote in his Common-place Book,—"ARGUE. We are often reproached for what we are taught to do. To differ in opinion from men of greater age and experience is looked upon, in a young man, as a great presumption. Yet are boys at school and college taught and compelled to criticise the best and most celebrated authors that the world has known, and to argue on all subjects, even in favor of an untenable proposition."— [*February* 18, 1803.]

† Several letters from Colonel Collins, written shortly after Charles Metcalfe's departure, are preserved by the latter. They are written probably with as much warmth as the man was capable of feeling. They sometimes acknowledge the receipt of a "friendly letter" from Metcalfe, and generally express a hope—often an assurance, that the young man will succeed in the line of his profession. In one letter he says: "I had little doubt but that Mr. Barlow would recommend your fixing in Calcutta, and on more mature reflection, I believe that his judgment is perfectly correct. Since he seems so well disposed towards you, I am certain you will not fail to cultivate his esteem and regard —not merely because his friendship may be useful in forwarding your interest, but principally on account of the high character he bears, as well for integrity as ability. Do you know, I by no means despair of drinking a bumper with your father, at some distant period, however, to the health of Charles Metcalfe, member of the Supreme Government in Bengal. Jesting apart, you have talents to justify the most sanguine hopes of your friends; and as you have come to the resolution of continuing in the service, I have no doubt of your application. Indeed, the former would be of no use without the latter. . . . Pray let me hear from you sometimes. Be assured that I shall ever feel warmly interested in your success in life, and, consequently, must be desirous of knowing how you get on. Remember, also, I am your banker, as well as your sincere friend, — J. COLLINS."— [*September* 24, 1802.]

CHAPTER IV.

[1802—1804.]

TRAINING AT THE PRESIDENCY.

Return to Calcutta—Appointment to the Chief Secretary's Office—His Studies—Extracts from his Common-place Book—Visit of Theophilus Metcalfe — Appointment to the Governor-General's Office — Early Official Papers—Rupture with Scindiah—Appointment to the Staff of the Commander-in-Chief.

On the 10th of September, 1802, Charles Metcalfe, having dropped down the river in a boat lent to him by Colonel Collins, arrived, a second time, at Calcutta; and on the 4th of October he was appointed an assistant in the office of the Chief Secretary to Government.

It seems to have been his determination, at this time, to obtain employment at the Presidency. It is to the Secretariat that the ambitious commonly turn their eyes as the stepping-stone to ultimate greatness. Lord Wellesley had looked favorably upon the young writer, and was obviously well inclined to serve him. Mr. Barlow, who was then second in influence and importance only to the Governor-General, recommended him to remain at the Presidency. He had friends, too, whom he dearly loved at Calcutta; so that all his inclinations

were gratified by the arrangement that had been made. His trip to the camp of the Mahratta had not been without its uses. He had returned with enlarged experiences to the vice-regal city. He had traversed a large extent of country. He had acquired a more extended knowledge of the people of India than he could have gained in many years of Calcutta life. And though he had rendered no great service to the State, as Assistant to the Resident at Scindiah's Court, he brought back some local information which subsequently was turned to profitable account, and he had begun to interest himself in the tangled politics of Northern and Western India.

Little by little he had learnt to reconcile himself to Indian life, and, still not without some fond regrets, he now looked his profession steadfastly in the face, and applied himself sedulously to the duties of his office. Much of his leisure time he devoted to his books. And he was no careless reader. He sate with a note-book before him, and as he pored over the pages of Gibbon, of Russell, or of the Abbé Raynal, he jotted down such landmarks of History as would be most useful for after reference, and kept his memory fresh as he proceeded. His old habit of philosophising, at which some of his friends laughed irreverently, was as strong as ever, and his Common-place Book was often opened. To many of the entries a peculiar value belongs, for they are snatches of self-portraiture or incidental reflections of the character of the youthful statesman. They contain, indeed, his

inner history, and are a little autobiography in themselves.

EXTRACTS FROM THE COMMON-PLACE BOOK OF CHARLES METCALFE.

[*Ætate* 17—18.]

"HUMAN INTELLECT.—It has often occurred to my mind, as a doubt which I have never been able to solve, how far active talents and a sedentary disposition are compatible. By active talents I do not mean that activity of the body which delights in the sports of the Field and corporeal exercise, but that activity of the mind, that superior ability, which is formed for the rule of Empires, is at all times ready for action, perceives instantly, and decides without hesitation. Were I to decide hypothetically, I should say that active talents were never accompanied by close application. There is a degree of drudgery, quiet, and, I had almost said, inertness required in close application to a particular study which I think incompatible with a mind such as I have in view. Instead of sedentary disposition, I ought to have said confined attention, to a science or a pursuit, for it is certain that there is no activity so great as that of the mind engaged in the pursuit of knowledge. But I am of opinion that active talents cannot be bent to a particular branch of study, and that they will universally fly off from particular to universal knowledge. Many men of quick but quiescent parts have rendered themselves famous in some one art or science, whilst others of more active talents, having made universal knowledge the object of their pursuits, have not been driven beyond the circle of their acquaintance, for human intellect is confined within such narrow bonds that it can never possess more than a very moderate knowledge of general subjects. And it is one of the innumerable proofs of the vast extent of Divine Wisdom that the human mind should take such various turns, and proceed by such different ways, to the acquisition of knowledge, improvement of science, refinement

of the world, and to the accomplishment of the views of the Omnipotent Deity. For I take it to be an indisputable fact, that there are no two minds, and never were two minds, which are not essentially different.—[*Calcutta, October* 29*th*, 1802.]

CHRISTIANITY.—I cannot help thinking that too strict an inquiry into the truth of the Christian religion ought to be discouraged in very young persons. It is an inquiry which requires vast fortitude of mind, and which we ought to commence with perfect faith. Youth is very easily led astray by plausible arguments, and the system of natural religion is too pleasing not to engage a young imagination. It is thus that M——, who has brought these reflections to my mind, at first set off as an enthusiastic admirer of Christianity, and carried his attention to its principles and duties to a great excess, but has now (most probably from the sophistical argument of some persuasive genius) entirely given up his faith in our blessed religion, and devotes himself to natural religion and universal philanthropy. A mind, however, so easily and suddenly converted may, without much difficulty, be brought back to a just belief of the doctrines of our Heavenly Saviour.—[*November* 19*th*, 1802.]

FRIEND.—It is less difficult to conciliate an enemy than to preserve a friend. There are no enmities so strong that the parties are not desirous of a reconciliation. I have seen no friendship which has not been interrupted by many petty jealousies, which always produce temporary contentions, too frequently lasting separations, and which are the more acute as the attachment is more ardent. I must eradicate from my mind that propensity to form romantic attachments which my youth and inexperience have encouraged. Never again will I nourish the seeds of a rising friendship; never will I love the man who has not obtained by long intercourse my respect and esteem; and so aid me ye powers of prudence and good sense in my resolves! I am too well convinced that there are very few hearts capable of the friendship which I feel, and would wish others to feel; and, young as I am, I am taught by painful

experience that the sacred name of friendship is too often violated; that equal and mutual attachments are seldom, and I doubt if ever to be found, and that an ardent attachment unreturned shackles the independence of the mind, and cannot fail to be attended with vexation and unhappiness. I am determined to resign the man whose apparent indifference has cost me so many sighs, and hope that in a short period I may be able to turn back to this page and smile at the reluctance with which I evidently part from him, and which is still more painful than it is evident.—[*December* 18*th*, 1802.]

SELF-LOVE is a most consoling companion. Let every man search his own heart. I have a very good opinion of myself, and, as far as I remember, always had the same. Self-love is the guide of all men's actions. One man feels a pleasure in feeding his own desires, another in feeding his neighbour's; but the principle is the same. Self-love is always at the bottom. The one is bent on present happiness, the other on future. I can tell which is the wiser, but I cannot which is the better, man. We appear all to be instruments in the hands of an Almighty, All-seeing Being, and is one more blameable than another? Can we go in the right way without the assistance of Providence? And shall he, who for want of that assistance goes wrong, be punished? Do we suffer for the sins of others? For what were we created? When, and how, shall we be destroyed? The inquiry is endless. Guide me, O Lord, in the right way.

TO MYSELF.—Mind—little Mind—thou art envious—not so as to give me much trouble, but sufficient to convince me that thou art in want of reform; so set about it instantly, and learn to feel as much happiness at the good fortune of others as thou wouldst for thine own.—[*February* 19*th*, 1803.]

— Nothing is more irksome than in submission to the rules of society, or to the natural inclination which the mind has not to offend, to feign a liking to one whose qualifications do not render him an object of our esteem, or to appear gratified with

the society of him who could not be too far from us. Such a man is R——.—[*April* 22*nd*, 1803.]

MIND AND COUNTENANCE.—The features of the countenance are formed after those of the mind."*—[*April* 25*th*, 1803.]

But whilst Charles Metcalfe was thus from time to time recording in his Common-place Book the history of his inner world of thought and feeling, in the outer world of incident and action there were circumstances developing themselves which tended in no small measure to shape the after-career of the man. These were partly of a domestic, and partly of an official character. In the month of January, his elder brother, Theophilus, came round from China to Calcutta, and on the 4th of April Charles Metcalfe was appointed an Assistant in the office of the Governor-General.

His brother's visit was quite unexpected. The dawk of the 8th of January brought him a letter from Theophilus, not dated from the Factory at Canton, but from the "Ship *Betsy*, below Ingerlee," on the Hooghly river. "You certainly will be astonished, my dearest Charles," wrote the elder brother, "to receive a letter from me dated from this place; but the cause is, ill-health having compelled me to take a trip to sea, I took the opportunity of spending a few months with you, my dear fellow, and, thank God, have arrived safe, and perfectly recovered." The announcement filled Charles Metcalfe with delight. "My God," he

* Opposite to this he had subsequently written, under date *August* 9, 1803—"Why, then, are mine so ugly?"

exclaimed to his friend Sherer, on the evening before Theophilus' arrival, "he is the finest fellow in the world!"* Not many hours afterwards the two brothers were shaking hands, after a three years' separation—yet little more than boys in age, but in experience and position men. They were still as unlike as ever; but years and absence had taught each brother to appreciate the qualities of the other, and they met as the most affectionate of friends.

It is not to be doubted that this fraternal visit was very beneficial to Charles Metcalfe. His brother was a fine, manly youth—by no means inclined to meet the troubles of life half way, but in the cheerfulness of his disposition and the strength of his endurance, sufficiently case-hardened against them. He had gone out to China much against his will, but had soon reconciled himself to his position, and had earnestly persuaded his more desponding brother to do the same.† But when he found that Charles

* *Sherer to Metcalfe, January* 17, 1806.

† On the 5th of November, 1801, dating from Canton, Theophilus Metcalfe wrote: — "The receiving a letter from you afforded me much pleasure, but I am sorry to find that India has not turned out so pleasant as you expected. But, my dear brother, it does not seem to be the profession you dislike, or the mode of making the money (which is my dislike to the country), but a regret at leaving England. Consider, Charles, it is not in the nature of things for us to be always with our family. Therefore, as you like your profession, and say 20,000*l.* would not suffice for you, what place can you sooner realise that sum in than India? You will perhaps say, that I am much altered. It is not so. My remaining here is only from the same motive which induced me to come out — that of satisfying a parent. . . . . No more of this; I have two requests to make: that you will not go home unless you are ill; but if you find the climate will not agree with you, return home immediately, and I promise you that, when it is in my power, your situation in England shall be made pleasant. If you cannot stay in this country, go home and make my dear friend Anne my sister. I have another request to make, that you will place confidence in me, let me know your debts, your movements, everything—

'Take courage, Man, and me your sorrows tell,
And safely think nane kens 'em but yoursel.'"

continued firm in his eagerness to return to England, with a generosity and self-devotion which did him the highest honor, he seconded his brother's solicitations, and promised his father, that if he would permit Charles to settle at home, he himself would engage not to swerve from the line of his profession, but make a fortune for himself in China.* Such conduct had greatly endeared him to his brother, and had raised him in the estimation of his parents. But the elder Metcalfe had made up his mind on the subject; and whilst Theophilus was crossing the Bay of Bengal, he was writing to Charles that the generous conduct of his eldest son had not induced him to swerve from his old resolutions. "The last letter from your brother," he wrote, "was of the most pleasing nature. He feels

* Dating again from Canton on the 22nd of March, 1802, he recurred to the subject of Charles's contemplated return, but in a strain somewhat modified by reflection on the contents of his brother's latter letters. The following passages are so honorable to the writer that it is a pleasure to transcribe them:—"I have received your letter of August," wrote Theophilus Metcalfe, "which, I assure you, has been a cause of anxiety to me, for I so much dread the consequences of my father's resentment were you to return home without his permission, and shall pity you if you are compelled to remain in India. I give you great credit for having determined first to make an application to your father, pointing out your situation and sentiments: and I shall in my letters second your request, and I think (though I do not wish to raise your hopes) that he may grant it to you, as he has a very just and great idea of your abilities, and his eldest son is determined to settle in this country—that is, to make a fortune. If, from being convinced that I am resigned to my fate, you should resolve to return immediately, come first to China for your health, and then let us consult together whether it would be right for you to return to England. . . . . Believe me, my dearest Charles, you will (at least I fear) rue the day if you should return contrary to the wish, or without the permission of our father. . . . . Believe me, you will not find yourself happy in Lord Grenville's office; the situation I would recommend, if you are determined to leave India, and which in my letter to my father I shall point out to him, as I believe, if he could succeed in placing you in it, he would consent, is the Banking Line."

perfectly satisfied with his situation, and with a degree of affectionate liberality, which does him great honor, desires me to let you come to England, and allow him to shift for himself. You, my dear boy, know my sentiments on this head. I should feel wanting in the duty as a father to the true interests of his son, were I to indulge my own desires to have my family with me by complying with the request of either of my sons to abandon the line of service I have had the good fortune to place them in; and my confidence in your good sense is such that I flatter myself you will, ere this arrives, be convinced my determination is founded in your prosperity—the only object I could possibly have in view."

Before this letter was received, Charles Metcalfe and his brother had many a time talked over the subject-matter of it together; and it is not to be doubted that the former profited largely by the sensible advice, and perhaps still more by the cheerful demeanor, of the young Chinaman, and the affectionate intercourse which was maintained between them. Theophilus Metcalfe was determined to enjoy himself. He had scented a party at Government House even from the Sand-Heads, and had written up to his brother that he should "require a *friseur*" immediately upon his arrival. He now stimulated the social activity of his more studious and quiescent brother, and even brought him somewhat reluctantly into a cricket-match, which the Etonians of Calcutta had adventured against the whole Presi-

dency.* These things did the young statesman no harm. And, apart from all these secondary influences, there was an abiding consolation in the presence of his brother, which seemed to bring home nearer to him, and greatly diminished the sense of isolation which had before pressed so heavily on his heart.

Even when Theophilus Metcalfe turned his back on Calcutta, and set out to visit his aunt Richardson, at Cawnpore, whither he vainly endeavored to persuade Charles to accompany him, there still remained with the latter a feeling that he was not alone. Seldom did a day pass on which the young civilian did not receive a letter from his brother reporting the progress he had made upon his travels. All this had an unfailing tendency to encourage and to strengthen him at a time when other influences were at work in the same favorable direction—when his official position was such as increasingly to flatter his boyish vanity and stimulate his boyish ambition. He was, I have said, appointed in April, 1803, an Assistant in the office of the Governor-General. Lord Wellesley had, some time before, conceived the idea of planting in Government House an office under his own immediate superintendence. He was not guilty of the folly

* In a little manuscript volume, which he kept at this time, and which he called an "Account of Reading," Charles Metcalfe wrote under date of January, 1803—"Continued Arabic. My studies and reading much interrupted this month by the arrival of my brother from China, which rendered me, on his account, more inclined to pleasures of every sort."—The month's reading only included "Browne's Travels in Africa," "Lucani Pharsalia," "Carmen in Pisonem," and "Volney's Travels in Egypt and Syria."

of attempting to mystify the secretaries to Government—of embarrassing his own movements by keeping them in ignorance of his designs. The Government secretaries, indeed, were a part of the machinery of his own office. But he believed that in matters of great political importance, involving the necessity of secresy, the subordinate agency of supreme direction could best be carried on by educated gentlemen, the covenanted servants of the Company, immediately responsible to himself. In prosecution of this design, it was his wont to select from among the young civilians at the Presidency those who had given the fairest promise of intelligence and zeal, and to make them his confidential assistants. And it is an eminent proof of the sagacity of this great statesman that he seldom made a selection that was not more than justified by the after-career of the man on whom he had fixed his regards. Nor was it the least pleasing of his retrospects forty years afterwards to recall the persons of the young men whom he, during the first years of the century, had assembled in Government House—the persons of John Adam, of Bayley, of Jenkins, and of Metcalfe, and to think of the distinction that in the interval had been attained by his pupils.

In that grand vice-regal school the clever boys of the Civil Service ripened rapidly into statesmen. They saw there how Empires were governed. The imposing spectacle fired their young ambition, and each in turn grew eager and resolute to make for himself a place in history. Of all men living, perhaps Lord Wellesley was the one around whose

character and conduct the largest amount of youthful admiration was likely to gather. There was a vastness in all his conceptions which irresistibly appealed to the imaginations of his disciples. Their faith in him was unbounded. The promptitude and decision with which he acted dispelled all doubt and disarmed all scepticism. Embodied in the person of Lord Wellesley, statesmanship was in the eyes of his pupils a splendid reality. They saw in him a great man with great things to accomplish. As he walked up and down the spacious central hall of the newly-erected Government House, now dictating the terms of a letter to be despatched to one political functionary, now to another, keeping many pens employed at once, but never confusing the argument or language proper to each, there was a moral grandeur about him seen through which the scant proportions of the little Viceroy grew into something almost sublime. There could not be a finer forcing-house for young ambition. Charles Metcalfe grew apace in it.

He soon began to feel that he was acquiring something that would cling to him all his life—that the training to which he was subjected was well calculated to fit him to tread the path that leads direct to Fame. What had once appeared to him petty and objectless, was now expanding into bulk and significance. The day-dreams of the Eton cloisters might be realised after all on the scenes where he once believed hard fate had condemned him to waste his existence. The future seemed very different to him now that Government House had become his college,

and he had for a moonshee the Governor-General himself. The example of his father, too, was at this time conspicuously before him. Major Metcalfe, who had gone out to India with none of those advantages which had environed his son, had been sent to Parliament by the people, and created a baronet by the King.* The glad tidings of this latter event reached Charles Metcalfe early in May; and some days afterwards he wrote in his Common-place Book these memorable words:

"My Father.—Early in the month I learnt that his Majesty had conferred the dignity of baronet upon my father. I rejoiced at it, because I was certain that this honor was not sought for by any of those mean arts which generally soil modern titles. I rejoiced at it because I was certain that it was not purchased by the loss of independence. My good father is a strong instance of what may be done by Ability and Integrity. He is an example which I shall ever have before my eyes, and if I steadily pursue his footsteps I have little doubt that I shall raise the second branch of the family to the same honors."—[*May* 16*th*, 1803.]

From this time Charles Metcalfe looked steadily forward. There were no more vain retrospects; no more idle regrets. The *vestigia retrorsum* were not to be taken. He had formed the resolution of not leaving the country until the Governor-Generalship of India was in his hands. And that such would be

* Writing of the dignity that had been conferred upon him to his son, the elder Metcalfe said:—"The dignity of Baronet which his Majesty has lately conferred upon me, was done in the most handsome way, and our reception at St. James's, when your mother was presented on coming to the title, was flattering in the highest degree. At my time of life the adding *Sir* to my name is of little importance, but to your mother, your sisters, and the whole family, I think the object desirable."

the end of his career was not a mere passing thought —an impulsive hope—but an abiding and sustaining conviction.*

All through the year 1803 and the earlier part of 1804, Charles Metcalfe continued to graduate in Indian politics under the directorship of Lord Wellesley. It was a season of unusual excitement. At no period, perhaps, of our connexion with the East has the aspect of affairs beyond the frontier presented such a knot of difficulties for the disentanglement of British statesmanship. I shall come presently to speak more in detail of our own relations with the Mahratta States. At present it is enough to say, that the complication of affairs, threatening, as it did, to involve the British power in the greatest war in which it had ever been engaged in India, threw a large amount of work into the Governor-General's office, and taxed all the energies of his assistants. Lake and Wellesley were in the field, waiting the opportunity to strike. It was certain that no statesmanship, that no diplomacy, could avert the inevitable collision. Whatever may have been the wishes of the Governor-General, I am afraid it cannot be said that the boys in his office were very desirous to arrest the war. They were deeply interested in the progress of events, and their sympathies were not with the peace-makers. So it happened that when intelligence reached Calcutta

* He did not scruple to say in early youth, that he would be Governor-General of India. And this not lightly and jestingly; but with all sincerity of meaning and gravity of manner. Among others to whom he mentioned this conviction, was that excellent man the late Dr. Marshman, who often spoke of the prophecy in after years, when Charles Metcalfe had reached the goal towards which he had long been steadily advancing.

that the anticipated rupture had actually taken place, and that Colonel Collins had quitted Scindiah's Court, Metcalfe and his associates were thrown into a state of excitement in which there was no great intermixture of pain. It was, indeed, a memorable day. There are men still living who, after the lapse of half a century, remember all the circumstances of that evening as vividly as though they had occurred in the present reign. For some days, the "glorious little man," as his disciples affectionately called Lord Wellesley, had been pacing one of the halls of Government House, girding himself up for the approaching crisis; and now he was prepared to meet it. Aided by Edmonstone, the Political Secretary, whose knowledge was as ready as it was extensive, he now dictated instructions to Colonel Collins, now to General Lake, now to Arthur Wellesley, now to John Malcolm, and now to Close and Kirkpatrick, the Residents at the Courts of the Peishwah and the Nizam. All day long these weighty despatches grew beneath the hands of the young scribes. The brief twilight of the Indian evening passed and left the work only half done. But still by the bright lamp-light the young writers resolutely plied their pens, as hour after hour the Governor-General continued to dictate the despatches, upon which the fate of principalities depended. Words of encouragement little needed came freely from him, as he directed this great work. And still, as Adam, Bayley, Jenkins, Metcalfe, Cole, Monckton, and others wrote and wrote these weighty despatches, upon which the events of the great war were to turn, he told them ever and

anon that their work would soon be done, and that there was a table spread for them in the banquet-room, at which they might presently drink success to the campaign. Though it was now the exhausting month of August, and rest and food were denied to them throughout many long hours, there was not one of them who flagged at his desk. Sustained by their youthful enthusiasm, they continued at their work till past midnight; then weary, hungry, and athirst, they were conducted to the table which had been spread sumptuously for their entertainment. It was a festival not soon to be forgotten. A special message from Lord Wellesley instructed them to give full vent to their hilarity—to use his cellar as though it were their own, and not to think that they were bound to be quiet because they were in Government House. So they drank success to the campaign in good earnest; toasted the glorious Wellesley, and his glorious brother; toasted General Lake and Colonel Stevenson; toasted the British Soldier and Jack Sepoy; and finally toasted one another. And the Governor-General did not complain that next day his "Office" was not very efficient.

Incidents of this nature were surely calculated to bind such warm-hearted, earnest youths as Charles Metcalfe by the strongest feelings of personal attachment and fidelity to Lord Wellesley. They not only worked for him, they worked with him. And the endearment thus engendered was reciprocal. No statesman ever took a livelier interest in the intellectual development of the disciples who sate at his feet. He watched their progress with affectionate

concern: he encouraged and stimulated them by judicious praise. He was at once their master and their friend; and there was not one of them who did not identify himself with his policy, and was not eager to contribute to its success.

And that even these clever boys could contribute something to the successful issue of Lord Wellesley's magnificent designs abundant proof was frequently given. Eager for an opportunity of rendering some service to the State, in a higher capacity than that of a mere scribe, Charles Metcalfe was not long in finding one. His visit to Colonel Collins, I have said, was not barren of profitable results. He had traversed a great part of the Mahratta country, and he had been no inattentive observer of its local peculiarities. The information which he had acquired on the spot was most useful in the conjuncture which had now arisen; and the young statesman knew well how to turn it to profitable account. When, at the close of 1803, by a succession of victories unparalleled in the annals of Indian conquest, Lake and Wellesley had broken the power of the Mahrattas and brought Scindiah to their feet, the treaty which was dictated to the prostrate chief contained a clause by which the British Government undertook to plant a subsidiary force in his dominions. The disposition of this force, dependent necessarily on local circumstances, was likely to become an important subject of consideration; and as Charles Metcalfe had something to say upon it, he resolved to draw up a memorandum, and submit it to Lord Wellesley. It may not have been his

first State-paper, but it is the earliest that I have been able to find:*

MEMORANDUM BY CHARLES METCALFE [*Ætate* 19] ON THE PROPOSED SUBSIDIARY FORCE IN SCINDIAH'S DOMINIONS.

"A treaty of defensive alliance has been concluded between the British Government and Dowlut Rao Scindiah, by which the latter agrees to receive a subsidiary force of British troops, to consist of 6000 regular infantry, with a due proportion of ordnance and military stores, to be stationed near to his frontier, at such place as the British Government may deem eligible.

"It is supposed that the subject of the disposition of those troops will shortly come under the consideration of the Governor-General; and it is probable that his Excellency may either resolve—1st, to form the subsidiary force into separate frontier garrisons and posts;† or 2nd, to station the whole in one cantonment. In either case, it is supposed to be desirable that the station or stations should be central, and that the force should be distributed in the manner best calculated to answer the purpose of a subsidiary force to Scindiah, and to secure as many other political advantages as are obtainable.

"In the event of either determination, KOTA appears to be a place well suited either as the post of a part of the troops under the first arrangement, or as a station for the whole under the second.

"The territory of Kota is bounded by the countries of the (Rajpoot) Rajahs of Jaipoor, Jaudpoor, Boondi, and Uniara to the north; by those of Holkar and Scindiah to the south; by that part of Scindiah's territories which is under the

* The original, in Charles Metcalfe's handwriting, was preserved by the late Mr. Edmonstone, to whose representative, Mr. Neil Edmonstone, I am indebted for a mass of valuable historical materials.

† "The treaty says 'place;' but it is not possible that it was not intended that the troops should absolutely be fixed at one place on account of the wording of the article."—C. T. M.

management of Ambajec to the east; and by Oudipoor to the west.

"Thirty miles to the southward of the town of Kota (which is on the banks of the Chumbul), and within the dominion of the Rajah, is the narrow, strong, and stony pass of Mukundra, between hills which extend east and west to a very considerable distance. It must have been considered of great importance, and has been defended by three gateways, the first of which towards Kota is in ruins; the second is in a middling state; and the third, towards the south, is in very good repair. It has been customary for the Rajah to have a body of troops at the last, with a guard at the summit of a hill to give notice of the approach of plunderers. On an alarm, the gate, of course, is closed.

"No other communication can take place between the north and south of those parts of Hindostan, which are situated within a considerable distance of Kota, than that which is carried on through the Mukundra Pass. It is considered by the natives of the surrounding parts to form the boundary of Hindostan, the land between the hills which form the pass and the Nerbudda is considered as independent both of Hindostan and the Deccan, and is at times included either in one or the other indiscriminately. Between the Mukundra and the Narwah Pass the country is hilly and impervious.

"The road by Mukundra, that by Narwah and that by Bundlekund, are believed to be the only roads connecting the northern and southern provinces of Hindostan proper. If such is the case, a small British force commanding each of these roads might entirely command all communication between the north and south of this vast portion of India.

"There are high roads from Kota:

"1st. To Oujein, which is distant nearly 150 miles, through the Mukundra Pass.

"2nd. To Agra, by Boondi, Oniara, Rampoora, Hindown, and Futtehpoor.

"3rd. To Delhi, by Hindown, Bhurtpoor, and Muttra.

"4th. To Gwalior, by Narwah.

"5th. To Jaipoor, by Boondi.

"6th. To Oudipoor.

"A place thus situated, with the advantages of a healthy climate and a fertile country, may be considered to be well adapted for a military station.

"The relations subsisting between the British Government and the states of Mysore, Hyderabad, Guicowar, and Poona, combined with the happy result of the late glorious war, and the probable consequences of the treaties of Deogaum, Surjee Arjingaum, and Boorhanpoor, appear to preclude every apprehension of the disturbance of the peace of India by any native power whatever; but the tranquillity of a great extent of country, and the happiness of vast numbers of inhabitants, are still exposed to destruction, from the oppressive ambition and diabolical ravages of disaffected chieftains and restless and unprincipled freebooters. A very small body of British troops, stationed in the neighbourhood of the Mukundra Pass, might effectually prevent the ingress and egress of those bodies of irregular cavalry which carry devastation and misery into every part of India over which the British influence has not been extended. The road of their passage from south to north, or from north to south, will be shut up, and their way of escape from pursuit will be cut off. By degrees the system of plunder will cease, the cultivation of a fertile country will be renewed, and a more regular method of government must be adopted. A British force situated in the territory of Kota would not only command the communication between the northern and southern parts of Hindostan, but would also have every advantage, military or political, to be derived from so central a situation. It would keep a check upon Holkar and Ambajee, or any other chiefs whose power might rise upon the ruin of either or both of these; it would protect the Rajpoots, would be near to Scindiah's capital, and would preserve the tranquillity of a vast extent of territory.

"It is true that no treaties exist by which the British Govern-

ment is bound to banish disorder and war from every province, or to preserve the peace and happiness of all India; but this task appears to be perfectly consistent with the comprehensive wisdom of British policy, and worthy of the characteristic excellence of British humanity.

"Admitting, therefore, for a moment, that a body of British troops stationed at Kota might be instrumental in procuring great advantages to the British interests, and in promoting what has now become inseparable from those interests, the happiness of India, and that therefore it would be advisable to adopt some plan in order to station a force in that district, the next point to be considered is whether there are any obstacles which may be opposed to such a plan.

"The present Regent of Kota* has for a long time felt the inconvenience and danger of his precarious situation with regard to Scindiah and Holkar, who alternately plunder him.† It is true that, with an unusual attention to the cultivation of the country and the comforts of the inhabitants, he has always endeavored, and generally with tolerable success, to avoid the desperate devastation which has afflicted his neighbours, by the more regular method of contribution; but it is evident that he must have suffered from this sufficiently to make him look anxiously to an opportunity of escaping from it.

"It appears probable that he would gladly accede to an arrangement which would afford tranquillity to his territories and protect him and his subjects from future outrage, and he must know that the presence of a body of British troops, although they might not be expressly designed for his defence, would effectually put a stop to the disorders which have constantly distressed the country. He must have learnt that, wherever the British influence is extended, the consequences are security and repose.

* Zalim Singh.

† "When I was at Kota, in April, 1802, 1500 of Holkar's Horse were levying contributions; and only five days before my arrival, the army of Scindiah, under Sadasheo Rao Bhao, had been there, on its march to Oujein —it may be presumed, to no good purpose."—C. T. M.

"Zalim Singh is comparatively powerful, and although he has gained his power by usurpation, is very much respected by the northern chieftains, who think that his conduct might have been more villanous than it has been, and that therefore he has the merit of moderation.

"The legitimate Rajah, Omed Singh,* is in confinement; he is not seen nor spoken of, and his name is not made use of in public acts.†

"Every part of the government is conducted in the name and by the authority of Zalim Singh, as Regent.

"There appears to be little reason to doubt his immediate and cordial acquiescence in a plan providing for the cantonment of a body of British troops in his territories, because it is evident that such a plan would secure great advantages to himself; and, without calculating upon any extraordinary inclination to comply with the desires of the British Government, self-interest would induce him to enter eagerly into such a scheme.

"This arrangement may be considered to relate to Scindiah.

"No serious jealousy can reasonably be excited in his mind. He must shortly perceive that the treaty of Boorhanpoor has so completely connected his interests with those of the British Government as to admit of no difference; and if he may not make immediate application for the subsidiary force to be stationed with himself, which does not appear to be very improbable, it is more than probable that he will be solicitous that it should not be removed to any great distance.

"A question may arise as to how far it is consistent with the dignity of the British Government to enter into negotiations with the usurper of a petty chiefship. These are questions

* Aged about 25.

† "His name *does* appear in a paper of requests sent by Zalim Singh to General Lake:

"'Zalim Singh proposes to conclude a treaty in his own name, and transmits a paper of requests in that of Rajah Omed Singh Kota-wala.' The paper contains some requests relative to the treatment of certain families and petty chiefs over whom Omed Singh, by birth, may be supposed to have a controlling or protecting authority.

"Zalim Singh may have made use of Omed Singh's name to obtain points which, in his own character, he could not have the privilege of urging."—C. T. M.

which must be treated with the degree of attention which is due to their importance. In the concerns of a great empire, persons in the most subordinate situations may perhaps be allowed to form conjectures upon a local or particular subject, to the consideration of which they may have been led by opportunity or accident; but when that subject launches out into a question of systematic policy and general interest, the discussion of it can only belong to the wisdom of those who have the arduous task of watching over the welfare of the State."

This memorandum greatly pleased Lord Wellesley; he saw its importance, and was glad to acknowledge it. Taking up a pencil, as was his wont, he wrote on the margin of the document: "*This paper is highly creditable to Mr. Metcalfe's character and talents. It may become very useful. A copy of it should be sent to the Commander-in-Chief and another to Major Malcolm.*—W." This was Charles Metcalfe's first great success. It fixed him in his resolution to persevere, and dwarfed the proportions of Lord Grenville's office. The boy of nineteen was drawing a salary of a thousand a year,* and writing State papers for the information of the highest military and diplomatic authorities in the country.

But although he was now turning his attention towards the strenuous realities of life, studying the Government records, and dwelling rather upon the Circumstantial than upon the Abstract, he still found time to moralise in his Common-place Book, and to read a large number of printed volumes,

* Eight hundred rupees a month—from the 3rd of January, 1804.— [*Letter of Mr. Edmonstone to Mr. Metcalfe, March* 17, 1804.]

English, French, Latin, and Italian. Nor were the Oriental languages wholly neglected.* He applied himself to the study of Persian and Arabic, and seems to have mastered them sufficiently for all practical official purposes. From the entries in his Common-place Book at this time, I make the following selections; they are contained in the last private journal that he ever kept:

EXTRACTS FROM THE COMMON-PLACE BOOK OF CHARLES METCALFE.

[*Ætate* 18—19.]

"HUMAN MIND.—M—— is a strong instance of the weakness of the human mind. He has entered upon a discussion of too great magnitude for his understanding. . . . . He has adopted the modern notion that Reason—*Blessed Reason*—ought to be our guide in matters of religion and government, and that we are authorised by all the rights of man to oppose whatever is opposite to our reason. It is this fallacious, detestable principle, which has loaded the world for the last twenty years with Crime and Misery. It is the doctrine of Paine, Godwin, and the Devil—the root of all Vice and the bane of every Virtue. O Lord, I humbly call upon you to relieve me from this abo-

* In February, after enumerating the books he had read, he wrote:—"These, with a slight occasional attention to French and Arabic, form the sum total of my February reading."—In March he wrote:—"In the latter part of this month I paid some attention to Persian."—In April, "Continued studies in Persian, and a general perusal of records. The improvement of this month, if not so various, is equally solid with that of the last, or perhaps, more so." In May, he "read a great variety of interesting records." Studied Persian, and reported that his improvement had been "progressive and satisfactory."—In June, he "Continued studies in Persian, and had a great deal of office business. On the whole, improvement inadequate."—In July, he recorded "A considerable degree of office duty—improvement very decent, but might have been better."—August, "Commenced with a very hard press of public business."—[In this month he read a vast number of plays, chiefly comedies and farces—many of them Fielding's.] And in September there was "an increase of official business." With the cold weather came a diminution of his literary industry, and the entries in his "Account of Reading" were few.

minable spirit, and to keep me steadfast in the right way!—[*May 5th*, 1803.]

— I look upon it no man can possess worldly ambition without also possessing envy and discontent. I find the one always accompanied by the others in my own heart. Ambition is only selfishness let loose. Every man has the spark, and accident blows it into a flame.—[*May 16th*, 1803.]

METAPHYSICS.—I have often been asked by men, raging in the enthusiasm of metaphysical inquiry, why I did not adopt that pursuit. I have been deterred by a desire to render my knowledge more stable, by the importance of my immediate pursuit, and possibly, as much as anything, by chance. But I now find reason to rejoice at the delay, and shall continue to neglect on Principle what as yet I have neglected from Accident. Late experience, aided by the perusal of an excellent sermon by the Reverend Sydney Smith, has pointed out to me the danger as well as the inutility of studies of that nature, and has taught me to see in metaphysics the seeds of moral, religious, and political scepticism. Metaphysics, I abhor you! Go, enlighten the minds, enlarge the ideas, and gild the imaginations of your votaries, nor shall I envy them their fancied superiority whilst I continue bound by ancient prejudices in favor of Christianity, its necessary consequence, morality, and what I conceive very conducive to both—*the British Constitution.*—[*June 7th*, 1803.]

SELF-SUFFICIENCY.—I often, in moments of reflection, take myself to task for my self-sufficiency in fancying a superiority of knowledge and sense over the generality of mankind, and examine upon what claim this fancied superiority is founded. I have read and observed more, and have devoted more of my time to reflection, than, I may almost say, any man of my own age. Does not this give a claim to superiority? One would think so; and yet I am much staggered when I see men acquiring fame and consequence whom I do not conceive entitled to either. I know no right that I possess to fancy any superiority, and yet my mind will fancy it. It is, however, an

opinion which, I believe, can only inspire good and honorable actions. I believe that every man has some vanity derived from a fancied superiority in person, manners, accomplishments, talents, or mind; and I do not know that mine is the most unworthy. That vanity only is disgusting which is proclaimed; and here I hope that I shall never be so weak as to fall. One circumstance which may render this advisable is, that I am constantly reminded of this fancied superiority by the avowed opinions of others, and we are so willing to believe what others say in our favor, that I would without scruple resign my ease to a just judge and ask with confidence,—'Have I sinned beyond the hope of grace?'—[*July*, 1803.]

Good Fellow.—A character I have taken much pains to gain, which is that of a good fellow, is a very contemptible one in the enjoyment of it. The term itself is not at all appropriate to the character, and the character is the most insignificant possible. It is bestowed without distinction upon the sensible, the generous, and the really good, as well as upon fools and ignorant and unprincipled men. What are the qualifications which are requisite to obtain this name it would not be easy to define, since it is so indiscriminately bestowed. Generally speaking, they seem to consist in a resignation of one's words and actions to the whims and follies of the society in which we move; in a total departure from the dictates of good sense and right reason, and too frequently from those of religion and morality. The greatest merit which some men possess, the highest ambition which some men cherish, is to be a good fellow—a character too prostituted to be valuable. If I am never entitled to greater praise, or excited by a nobler ambition, may my ambition be eternally smothered, and the tongue of praise be hushed for ever.—[*August 5th*, 1803.]

Beauty.—Men may talk as they will about the little necessity for beauty in a man; but beauty is a real advantage. A handsome, interesting countenance is a man's best recommendation at first acquaintance; and although I by no means mean to say that internal worth will not be admired, when known, even

under an ugly external, yet we are much more ready to receive to our arms the man whose pleasing countenance we are willing to believe to be the index of his mind. Are there not countenances which at first sight seize, as it were, upon our hearts, and establish an interest in the welfare of their possessors? The influence does not end with the first introduction; if tolerably good qualities are visible in a handsome man, his beauty will never fail to heighten and adorn them, and as it is his best friend in obtaining the countenance of society, it will be his steady supporter in securing its admiration. Instances without number occur to me of the truth of these observations, and in no place can they be more strongly marked than in the society of Calcutta. An ill-looking man, whatever may be his good qualities, is never so much the object of our praise as a handsome one. Beauty, however, has its disadvantages. It secures so good a reception everywhere, that a man possessed of it is persuaded that he has nothing left to acquire. The ugly man, finding his face against him, is obliged to lay his claim to being agreeable on the solid foundations of good sense, knowledge, and virtue. But if this emulation is not excited, the consequences are dreadful. A pretty fool may pass through the world pretty well, but an ugly fool is a most unfortunate wretch. Who would not discover that the writer of this is an ugly fellow?

With the female sex the beauty of a man is everything. . . . . I believe there are very few indeed who consider worth as essential in a lover, and as few would regard it in the choice of a husband did not selfishness lead them to do so.

A man may mar the effects of his beauty by affectation, but particularly by effeminacy; for the men will despise him, and the nearer he approaches to the female sex the women will too. —[*Calcutta, August 9th*, 1803.]

Fortune.—Men who rise in the world are much more indebted to their good fortune than to their merit or ability; and he is the most clever who is best able to profit by good fortune when it comes to him.

Among the favors of fortune may be considered a good face or figure, which, if a man knows how to take advantage of them, are not the least of her favors.

Opinions of Men.—We are capable of exercising a just judgment with regard to the characters and conduct of men placed very far above or very far below us; but of men whose case can in any respect be drawn into a comparison with our own we cannot judge, except under the influence of prejudice and vanity.—[*August* 11*th*, 1803.]

Pride and Humility.—There are two nominally opposite things in which men are generally wanting—Pride and Humility. I mean proper pride and proper humility, which, however, in my mind, are so far from being opposite that I think them inseparable. And inasmuch as a noble pride and a noble humility, a bad pride and a degrading humility, are the companions of one another. If you see a purse-proud man, or one haughty from birth, mark him out as mean. If you see a blustering, bullying pride, note it down as little—beneath man and belonging to brutes. The pride of scholastic learning is contemptible and degrading; and the self-sufficiency of a horse-jockey or a sportsman is still more so. But there is a noble, independent pride, which abhors everything that is mean and dishonorable, and which is almost always accompanied by a truly meek and Christian humility. The man who from pride would commit an insolent action, from interest or from fear would commit a mean one. No two things are more different than a proper and a false pride.—[*September* 13*th*, 1803.]

Vanity and Selfishness.—Vanity, however great, I can always pardon; but selfishness unrestrained is inexcusable. A degree of selfishness is a necessary ingredient in the composition of every man; but there are many who are governed by it in every action of their lives—such men are not fit members of society. It is probably a wise and far-seeing selfishness which renders many men the very reverse of what we call selfish."—[*October* 25*th*, 1803.]

From this date there is no further entry until the spring of the following year, when he thus recorded the fact of his brother's marriage, and closed his journal-books for ever. "My eldest brother, Theophilus John, was yesterday married to a charming young woman, Miss Hannah Russell.* His age is twenty. He will be twenty-one on the 19th of September next. May they enjoy every happiness which good hearts ought to enjoy."—[*March 2nd*, 1804.]

Soon after this, the two brothers parted, with full hearts. Their meeting in Bengal had endeared them greatly to each other, and the affection thus engendered was never subsequently diminished. They differed greatly in character, but both were of a loving nature and a generous disposition; and although in childhood opposite qualities breed conflicts and divisions, in manhood they blend with and adapt themselves to each other, and there is more love where there is more diversity.†

Not long after the departure of his brother,

* Niece of Sir Henry Russell, one of the Judges of the Supreme Court of Calcutta.

† "As schoolfellows," wrote the elder brother two years afterwards to Sherer, "we were continually squabbling, and I believe from the different turn of mind, which you must have observed, our parents thought that it would be the case through life. Thank God, those who saw us in Bengal must convince themselves of the contrary, and I may safely say that there never were two brothers more sincerely attached; and, indeed, had I been totally devoid of brotherly love, his kindness and attention to my dear girl would have gained him my warmest affection." This Sherer communicated, in one of his letters, to Charles Metcalfe, who wrote in reply:—"The passage which you transcribed is, as you rightly judge, peculiarly gratifying to me. The difference in our habits, which was acquired in our childhood, will probably stick to us, and it is possible that we may have different opinions on controversial points, as you may remember we used to have, but in fraternal affection and friendship Theophilus and I will ever have, I am sure, the same mind and spirit." The letter in which this passage occurs is given entire in Chapter VI.

Charles Metcalfe also quitted Calcutta. A life of active excitement was before him. The Grand Army of General Lake was in the field. The campaign against Holkar had commenced. Metcalfe was well versed in Mahratta politics; he was acquainted with the views of the Governor-General; and he was conversant with the native languages. Lord Wellesley believed that in the camp of the Commander-in-Chief the young civilian would render good service to the State. So he placed him at the disposal of General Lake as a political assistant, and despatched him to join the head-quarters of the Army.

CHAPTER V.

[1804—1805.]

LIFE IN LAKE'S CAMP.

The Mahratta War — Growth of the Mahratta Power — The Peishwah—Policy of Scindiah—The Treaty of Bassein—Conduct of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar—The Campaigns under Lake and Wellesley—Charles Metcalfe joins the Army—The Battle of Deeg—Letters to Sherer and others—Prospects and Intentions—Adherence to the Political Line.

It would be inconsistent with the character of such a work as this to enter minutely into the circumstances which evolved the great war with the Mahrattas, or to detail with much prolixity the operations of the campaigns in which Lake, and a greater than Lake, by a series of rapid successes, made the English strangers masters of Hindostan. Charles Metcalfe, though at this time a youth of the highest promise, was connected with these great transactions only in a subordinate capacity; and the annals of the war, therefore, scarcely belong, except by right of that literary tumefaction which is needful, only when legitimate materials of biography are scanty, to the narrative of his life.

But to render this part of his personal history intelligible to the reader who has not explored the intricacies of the most confused and bewildering

chapter in the annals of British conquest in the East, a few salient facts, illustrative of the downfall of the Mahratta power, may be briefly noted down.

Whilst little by little the English Merchant-company were studding the coast of the great Indian Peninsula with fortified factories, and expanding slowly and reluctantly into a great military power, a sturdy race of Hindoos, having their home, for the most part, between the Deccan and the Western Coast, were acquiring for themselves upon the ruins of the Mogul Empire the sovereignty of Hindostan. To the English in India, when Sevajee and his immediate descendants were usurping the thrones of the old Mahomedan usurpers, the great revolution which was then in progress was rather a remote source of political interest than a matter of immediate moment and significance. And so generation after generation of Mahratta chiefs lived, plundered, and died; and the English in India only took account of these things so far as they affected the prosperity of our trade and the security of our factories. But when we ourselves became conquerors —when swelling from the seaboard our narrow strips of territory grew into vast inland possessions, these despoiling Mahrattas were fast becoming our neighbours, and the neighbourhood of a great military power in a continual state of unrest—of bands of unscrupulous marauders, kept together by a community of rapine, aiming at universal dominion, which with them was but another name for universal anarchy—could not be regarded without feelings of uneasiness and concern. The new century found us

approaching the vague limits of the Mahratta territories; and our politicians had begun to anticipate a coming struggle.

The Mahratta States at this time recognised the nominal supremacy of the descendants of Sevajee, who maintained a shadow of royalty at Sattarah, in Western India. But these Sattarah Rajahs had long since ceased to be anything more than petty princes, without military strength or political influence; and the historian of the Mahratta war has little more to do than to acknowledge their existence, or to record their decay. By one of those mutations so common in the East, the servant had become the master, the master the servant. The hereditary princes had little of the energy and ability of the great founder of their family, and they were well content to suffer the government to be carried on in their name by the Peishwah, or chief minister, a functionary who wielded at once civil and military power, and who had full scope for the exercise of his ambition. There is a tendency in such offices, under such governments, to become hereditary. An hereditary ministry of this kind soon becomes an hereditary despotism. So it happened that, in course of time, the Peishwah became an independent prince, holding his Court at Poonah, which grew into the capital of the chief principality of the great confederacy of Mahratta States.

But "the whirligig of Time brings in its revenges" most surely on Oriental soil. The usurper becomes the victim of usurpation—the puppet-maker himself a puppet. Nothing is so feeble as legiti-

macy. Nothing is certain but Revolution. No Divinity hedges a King, except the Divinity of Chance and Change. So, as other Mahratta chiefs, with all the new energies and activities of hardy and hopeful adventurers, mustering large bodies of predatory troops, rejoicing in disorder and intent upon rapine, made for themselves principalities and created Courts of their own, the power of the Peishwah rapidly declined. There was virtue, however, still in the name. It was something to rally round—something that might give fixity and reality to the meteor-like, evanescent character of a dominion which might, almost without a figure, be described as the dominion of the saddle.* Hence

* The dominions of the Peishwah were the home of a very large proportion of the genuine Mahrattas in the country—a circumstance which greatly increased the importance of this principality. "In the territories under the immediate rule of the Peishwah," wrote Sir John (then Major Malcolm), in a very able paper on Mahratta affairs, written in 1803, "the inhabitants are almost all Mahrattas, among whom national pride, national feeling, or national prejudice may exist; but it is, I believe, a fact, that in the Conquered Provinces over which the Rajah of Berar, Holkar, and Scindiah rule, there are not more Mahrattas in proportion to the original inhabitants of the soil than there are European inhabitants in proportion to the natives of Bengal and Behar. It is evident few feelings can exist in common with states so constituted; but as the Mahratta chiefs carried everywhere with them the same system of plunder which distinguished their forefathers, a love of spoil may perhaps still be recognised as a common principle of action, and it might lead them to have a general feeling of jealousy against any nation whose policy, by establishing tranquillity, was calculated to limit the sphere of their depredations, and such a general feeling might give rise to a momentary union; but is it not evident, from the discordant materials of which these states are formed, as well as from the nature of the only principle which they have in common, that such union could never be lasting, and that it could not even in the short period of its duration produce any adequate effect?"—In the same paper, Malcolm thus describes the geographical position of the Peishwah's territories:—"The hereditary possessions of the Peishwah were bounded to the east by the provinces of the Nizam, to the south by those of the Company and the Rajah of Mysore, and to the west by the islands of Bombay and Salsette, while his personal possessions in Goozerat actually intermixed with the provinces which the Company before possessed, and had recently acquired in that quarter, and the countries over which the Peishwah still retained some authority in Bundlekund, were only divided by the Jumna

arose a continual effort on the part of the most stirring and the most powerful of these chiefs—Scindiah and Holkar—each to obtain an ascendency at the Court of Poonah, to render the Peishwah a puppet in his hands, and so to concentrate in his own person an amount of power sufficient to overawe all the other states, and eventually to consolidate them into a vast empire; and this accomplished, he would soon have endeavored to subjugate all the neighbouring native powers, and with his locust-like flights of predatory horse, to sweep the English strangers into the sea.

Nor was this the only circumstance that at the dawn of the present century caused the British Government to watch the progress of events in the Mahratta country with the liveliest concern. The most powerful of the confederate chiefs at this time was Dowlut Rao Scindiah. His territories not only bordered upon those of our allies, the Nizam of the Deccan and the Nabob of Oude, but actually intermixed with those of the Company on our north-western frontier.* Within a few miles of the boundary of our own possessions were Scindiah's principal arsenals and magazines. He held posses-

river from the territories of the Company and their ally the Vizier of Oude."

* "The possessions of *Scindiah* in Goozerat were interspersed with those of the Company and their ally the Guicowar. In the Deccan his provinces bordered on those of the Nizam, and in Hindostan his most valuable possessions were not only bounded, but actually intermixed with those of the Company and the Nabob Vizier, and in this quarter (within a few miles of the Company's territories) were all his arsenals and magazines established; and the different provinces in which these were situated were placed under the management of the French or foreign officers in this service, to the payment of whose troops their revenues were allotted." —[*Malcolm's Observations on Mahratta Affairs. MS. Records.*]

sion of the chief strongholds on the banks of the Jumna. His native strength, therefore, was great; but it was not this that we most regarded. He had learnt to understand the value of European discipline. Many of his battalions were organised, instructed, and commanded by European adventurers, French, Dutch, Portuguese, and English. Among these the French party was dominant. It was the time when no enterprise appeared too gigantic for the ambition, and no country too remote for the intrigues, of the restless Corsican usurper. The danger may have been exaggerated; but it was not wholly a shadowy one. The very hope, indeed, of French succours, increased the presumption of our Indian enemies. It was not lifeless because it was a delusion.

When, therefore, it appeared that Scindiah had acquired for himself a predominant influence at the Court of Poonah, and that the Peishwah had become a mere pageant in his hands, it is not to be questioned that this French connexion increased the importance and significance of his movements. But internal dissensions were, at this time, rending the Mahratta States and enfeebling their powers of action against a common enemy. The ascendency of Scindiah at the Court of the Peishwah had inflamed the jealousy of his rival Holkar, a soldier of fortune, who held possession of a tract of country of which Indore was the capital, and who had inherited with his power the hostility of the former chief. So, towards the close of the year 1802, this turbulent adventurer marched with a strong force

of all arms upon Poonah, defeated the troops of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, and took possession of the city. The Peishwah himself sought safety in the Company's territories. Whatever reluctance he may have before had to place himself under the protection of the British Government, entangled as he now was in a thicket of danger and difficulty, he forced himself to overcome it. The opportunity was a great one, and not to be neglected. A treaty, known in History as the "Treaty of Bassein," was presented to the Peishwah and accepted. The same policy which had been pursued so successfully towards the Court of Hyderabad, and which established our influence in the Deccan, was now to regulate our proceedings towards Poonah. A subsidiary force was to be planted by us in the dominions of the Peishwah, and to be maintained at his expense. The alliance was to be one strictly of a defensive character. It was not its intent to enable the Peishwah to overawe the other Mahratta chiefs, whose independence was in nowise to be affected by the treaty, but to protect him against the aggressive designs of others, and so far to maintain the balance of power throughout the Mahratta States. On the last day of the year the Treaty of Bassein was concluded, and in the following spring the Peishwah, supported by a force which had marched upon Poonah under the command of Arthur Wellesley, was re-seated on his throne.

At the approach of Wellesley's battalions Holkar's army had fled, and Poonah was occupied without a

struggle. It remained now to be seen what effect the establishment of British influence at the Court of the Peishwah would have upon the policy of the other Mahratta States. If it had been the desire of each chief to remain in undisturbed possession of his own territories, the Treaty of Bassein, which guaranteed to every one the maintenance of his existing rights, would not have been distasteful to any. But that treaty was well calculated to restrain the heady ambition, and to suppress the predatory habits, of men who could not appreciate the secure possession of a settled territory so long as they were forbidden to encroach upon the dominions of their neighbours. By fixing subsidiary forces at Hyderabad and at Poonah, we kept up a line of military posts effectually cutting off the whole of Southern India from the country of the Mahrattas, and defending alike the territories of the Company, the Peishwah, and the Nizam. But to men of such a stamp as Dowlut Rao Scindiah all this was an offence and an abomination. If we had invited him to chastise with us the usurpation of Holkar, and had so assisted him to re-establish his ascendency over the Peishwah, he might have rejoiced in our interference. But the course of independent action which had been pursued by the British Government was fatal to the ambition of the Mahratta chief. So, when an attempt was made by Colonel Collins to induce him to give in his adhesion to the Treaty of Bassein, the British Resident was met first with friendly promises, then with shifts and evasions,

which soon took the more decided shape of open opposition.* As the year advanced, it became more and more obvious that Scindiah was bent upon playing a game perilous either to our existence or to his own. Nor did he stand alone in his ill-disguised hostility to the British Government and its allies. The Rajah of Berar, whose country lay to the south of the Nerbudda, and bordered upon our own districts both in the Northern Sircars and Orissa, was openly in league with Scindiah.† In a little while they formed a junction of their armies, and assumed a menacing attitude upon the borders of the dominions of the Nizam. The language of Scindiah became bolder and bolder. From boldness it grew into insolence, and at last, when pressed by the British Government to declare his intentions, he said that the question of Peace or War was dependent upon the result of an interview which he was about to have with the Rajah of Berar.

Lord Wellesley was not moved by that "frenzy for conquest" which was afterwards imputed to him. He was eager to maintain an honorable peace, and the conduct of his representatives was marked by the utmost moderation and forbearance. But it

* Whilst Scindiah thought that there was a prospect of his being made a party to the restoration of the Peishwah, he was willing to endorse the treaty; but when he found that it would not assist him to regain his lost ascendency at Poonah, he endeavored to obstruct its operation.

† "The possessions of the Rajah of Berar," says Malcolm, in the important document quoted above, "in one part joined with our Northern Sircars, whilst in another they were connected with our empire in Orissa, in which province some of the Rajah's districts absolutely extended to within a few miles of Calcutta. To the westward he held the richest part of his country, Berar Proper (in partnership, if I may be allowed the expression), with our ally the Nizam, and the greater part of his remaining territory bordered with those of that prince."—[*Malcolm's Notes on "Anonymous Observations on Mahratta Affairs." MS. Records.*]

was every day becoming more and more doubtful whether an honorable peace could be maintained. It was plainly the duty of the Governor-General to be prepared for either issue. There was a man then upon the spot to whom he believed that he might safely entrust the power of deciding between the two issues of Peace and War. In Arthur Wellesley there were not less the germs of the great soldier and the great statesman because he was the brother of the Governor-General. In him was now vested absolute military and political control in that part of the country where his troops were posted; he was empowered to enter into any engagements which might seem expedient with Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar, and if they continued obdurate, at once to let loose his battalions upon them. There was nothing unreasonable in his demands; there was nothing overbearing in his conduct. But the Mahratta chiefs, now advancing ridiculous pretensions, now resorting to paltry evasions, tried his patience beyond the limits of honorable endurance. At last an act of extraordinary falsehood and duplicity brought matters to a crisis. Colonel Collins was instructed to retire from Scindiah's Court, and General Wellesley wrote to the Mahratta chief, "I offered you peace on terms of equality, and honorable to all parties; you have chosen war, and are responsible for all consequences."

It was on the 3rd of August that Collins quitted Scindiah's Court. On the 8th, Wellesley commenced active hostilities by summoning the fortress of Ahmednuggur to surrender. On the 10th, the place

was carried by assault. Having accomplished this, he moved down to the defence of the Nizam's dominions, and on the 23rd of September was fought the great battle of Assye. The issue of the contest in that part of the country was now no longer doubtful, and Scindiah soon began to recognise the expediency of making terms. But there was more work yet to be done to bring him in a fit state of humiliation to our feet. General Stevenson, with the Hyderabad subsidiary force, captured the town of Boorhampore and reduced the fortress of Asseeghur. On this Scindiah sued in earnest for terms, and an armistice was agreed upon. But he was negotiating independently for himself, and Berar had yet to be subdued. So Wellesley moved down on Argaum, fought another great battle, and achieved another victory on its plains; then laid siege to Gawilghur, a place of uncommon strength, and captured it after a desperate resistance. The Rajah now followed the example of his ally, and was eager to negotiate with an enemy of whose power he dreaded a final demonstration against the capital itself.

In the mean while, General Lake, who had succeeded Sir Alured Clarke as Commander-in-Chief of the British forces in India, was operating in that part of Upper India which is washed by the waters of the Jumna, and carrying everything before him. Here was it that Scindiah's best battalions, under the command of his European officers, were planted. Here was it that he held his principal strongholds—his arsenals and his magazines. Here was it that not only the power of the Mahratta, but of the

"French Party," was to be broken up by the brilliant operations of the "Grand Army," the rapidity of whose successes even exceeded that of Wellesley's brigades. On the 29th of August, Lake attacked Perron's camp at Coel, and dispersed the army assembled there. On the 4th of September he carried Alighur by assault. A week afterwards he fought the battle of Delhi, entered the imperial city, and delivered the unfortunate Mogul from the miserable captivity into which he had been thrown by the French chief and his Mahratta master. Next, Agra fell before us; and on the 1st day of November was fought the great battle of Laswarrie, where the humiliation of the Mahrattas was consummated by the overthrow of the flower of Scindiah's army, and the capture of all their munitions of war. Never had so many victories been accomplished, or such great political events brought about, in so small a circle of time. Within the space of four months Lake and Wellesley had broken up the most formidable confederacy that had ever threatened our power in the East. They had extinguished then and for ever the French Party, and brought Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar in bitter humiliation to our feet.

The treaties, which were then separately concluded with these two chiefs, were distinguished by a remarkable amount of moderation on the part of the victors. Some tracts of country, for the most part recently acquired, were yielded to the Company, and the Mahrattas pledged themselves never again to take into their service any French or other subject

of a Government not in friendly alliance with our own. But they were still to be recognised as independent princes, and to be left in the enjoyment of their hereditary possessions. It was stipulated that each State should appoint a Minister to reside at the Court of the other; and, by a subsequent treaty of defensive alliance entered into with Scindiah, it was arranged that a British subsidiary force should be stationed within, or on the frontier of, his dominions, to be paid for out of the revenues of tracts of country which that chief had ceded to the British.*

Thus was a glorious war terminated by an honorable peace. But the rest which ensued was but of brief duration. There was another chief still willing to try the temper of those formidable battalions which, on the bloody plains of Assye and Laswarrie had routed the Mahratta horsemen, and captured the French cannon, and who had fought their way, through the breaches they had made, into the strongest fortresses in Central India. Holkar now appeared on the field. "After the conclusion of the late glorious war with Scindiah and Boonsla," wrote Charles Metcalfe, in an unfinished memorandum, "by a peace which secured great advantages to the British interests, and afforded a fair prospect of future tranquillity and security, Jeswunt Rao Holkar began to operate against us. The power of this chief, who had taken no active part in the contest against us, although undoubtedly a principal member of the hostile confederacy, was increased by the events of

* It was with reference to this force, the design of which was never carried out, that Metcalfe drew up the Memorandum given in the preceding chapter.

the war. In its commencement Scindiah, in order to secure his co-operation, ceded to Holkar all the territories which had been conquered from him in their former disputes. Holkar, whilst Scindiah and Boonsla were carrying on hostilities, took advantage of the favorable opportunity to take possession of his ceded countries, and the British Government did not consider him as an enemy. At the conclusion of the war, the chiefs and troops who had served the confederates, having no hopes of pay from either the Rajah of Berar or Dowlut Rao Scindiah, joined the army of Holkar. Jeswunt Rao had nothing to fear from his former opponent, Scindiah, nor from any power in India but the British Government, and that Government did not wish to attack him. Perhaps, therefore, Holkar was never so powerful as at that time.* Just at the conclusion of the war, he had advanced with his cavalry and menaced the territory of the Rajah of Jyepore, who had previously entered into a defensive alliance with the British Government. The Commander-in-Chief was obliged to keep the field, to watch the movements of Holkar, and ascertain his intentions. After some vain attempts to negotiate, war became inevitable."† The language of Holkar was insolent and defiant. He threatened to overrun the country, and to destroy his enemies by lakhs. So our British chiefs again

* "It could not be expected, after the glorious events of the former war, that Holkar would singly engage in a contest with the British power. The thing was considered almost impossible. Holkar was despised, and his power underrated."—C. M.

† The memorandum from which this is taken is unfinished; but I am glad to use Metcalfe's words when I can.

prepared themselves for action, and, without a fear of the result, launched boldly into a second campaign.

Some partial successes at the outset raised the hopes and increased the presumption of Jeswunt Rao Holkar. Nor was this elation confined to himself. The Mahratta chiefs, who had been so crushed and mutilated during the last war, now began to think that there was a prospect of recovering what they had lost. Their restless ambition would not suffer them to subside into inaction. History, properly written, is but a bundle of biographies. It is in the characters of individual men that we see the sources of great events which affect the destinies of nations. That Dowlut Rao, left to his own unaided councils, would have sought to try the issue of another conflict with the British Government, or would have desired to league himself with Holkar, would seem to be at least uncertain. But he was wrought upon by one who, after the old fashion of Oriental Courts, had gained an infamous ascendency over him by administering to his pleasures—a man of vile character, of degraded personal habits, and of unscrupulous malignity, who hated the English, and was continually inciting his master to compass their overthrow. This man, Sergiy Rao Gautka by name, had energy and ability sufficient to enable him to carry out his designs. Obtaining an influence over Scindiah sufficient to enable him to thwart the more moderate and judicious counsels of the Maharajah's other advisers, he persuaded him that, by entering into alliance with the Nizam, the Rajah of Berar,

and his old enemy Holkar, he could effect the entire overthrow of the British power in Central India. In pursuance of this design, agents were employed at the Courts of Hyderabad and Nagpore, and were despatched to all the principal chiefs of Malwa, inviting them to enter into the great combination which was to achieve such mighty results.

But in the mean while, eager to repair the disasters which had beset the commencement of the campaign, Lake had taken the field against Holkar, and was soon again asserting the supremacy of British arms. It was on the 3rd of September, 1804, that the head-quarters of the army left Cawnpore to unite with other detachments at Agra, which had been fixed as the place of general rendezvous. Charles Metcalfe, who had left Calcutta on the 23rd of August, was then on his way to join the camp of the Commander-in-Chief.

He started in good spirits, and under happy auspices. Such a deputation was as honorable to his character and his talents as it was indicative of the discernment of Lord Wellesley, who may have been mistaken sometimes in his measures, but who seldom mistook his men. The young writer was to retain his situation in the Office of the Governor-General. But it had already lost much of its attractiveness in his eyes; for some of the best and most cherished of his associates had already been selected for detached employment, and he was beginning to think that the office was being rendered a little too "open."*

* See letter to Mr. Sherer. *Post*, page 152.

It could not always be stocked with Bayleys, Jenkinses, and Metcalfes; and the very mutations of which the young writer complained were a necessity inherent in the constitution of such a training-school for public servants. Personally attached as he was to Charles Metcalfe, Lord Wellesley parted from him with regret; but the Governor-General rejoiced to see him fairly launched upon a journey towards the theatre of those great events which were changing the destinies of Hindostan, for he knew that the talents of the young diplomatist would there find free scope for action, and that the national interests would profit by their exercise. So Charles Metcalfe started for the camp of the Commander-in-Chief, and the strongest possible recommendations preceded him. How greatly Lord Wellesley appreciated him, at this time, may be gathered from the following letter, written by his Military Secretary:

"CAPTAIN ARMSTRONG TO CHARLES METCALFE.

"Barrackpore, August 24th, 1804.

"DEAR METCALFE,—Lord Wellesley having heard this morning of your departure by dawk, directed me to write a letter to Lieutenant-Colonel Lake, and to send it by express, lest you should arrive without an introduction.

"I have great satisfaction in informing you that, in following his Excellency's instructions, I never saw so strong and handsome a letter in my life, both as to your public and private character, and his Lordship's personal regards for you. I can only say, I would not wish a better letter for Arthur Cole.

"I have wrote to Colonel Lake from myself, requesting his attention to you as my particular friend; and I have no doubt you will find every attention and kindness.

"I intended to have sent you my letter to deliver, but

Arthur Cole wrote me that you wished me to write to Colonel Lake direct.

"I wish you a pleasant campaign, and every success you can wish for.

"Believe me,

"Yours very sincerely,

"J. ARMSTRONG."

Resorting to the most expeditious mode of travelling which the country afforded, Charles Metcalfe left Calcutta, journeying in a palanquin, and proceeded for some distance without any interruption. But before he reached Cawnpore, at some point of the road which I cannot precisely indicate, he was set upon by robbers. He was asleep in his palanquin when he fell among these thieves, and, according to custom, was abandoned by his bearers. One of his assailants had a club in his hand, which young Metcalfe seized; another then struck at him with a tulwar, or sword, cut off the ends of two of his fingers, and wounded him on the head and on the breast. Single-handed, it was impossible to save his property, but his life he might save; so, finding resistance useless, he staggered away from his assailants, and following a path through the jungle, he soon found himself on the bank of a broad river, or stream. There, faint from loss of blood, he sank down; and, as he lay on the ground, thoughts of home came thick upon him. It flashed upon his mind that his parents were not improbably at that very time at Abingdon Races, talking with some friends about their absent son, and little thinking of the danger and the suffering to which he was at that

moment exposed. These thoughts made a deep impression on his mind; but he presently roused himself to action, and tottered back as best he could to the spot where his palanquin was lying; but found that the robbers had not yet made off with their spoil. After a little while, however, they went, having despoiled the traveller of all the baggage which he carried with him*—never any great amount on a dawk-journey—and effected their escape. Metcalfe was then carried on to Cawnpore, where, under the care of his aunt, Mrs. Richardson, he soon recovered from his wounds, and proceeded onwards to the camp of the Commander-in-Chief.†

Lake was then on the banks of the Jumna. Holkar was hanging on his rear; and, in the full indulgence of the predatory habits of his tribe, was

* There were two small articles of inestimable value to him—one, a seal given to him by his father; and another, a toothpick case, containing locks of all his family's hair. It is said that he was wounded battling for these treasures.

† This event occurred about the first week of September. I have been able to discover no account of it from the pen of Metcalfe himself. The details which I have given are derived principally from family tradition. His godfather, Jacob Rider—ever affectionate and generous—wrote to him on the 18th from Nerozapore: "Badly as you are wounded, yet after the first report we had of you, I congratulate you on the narrow and great escape you have had, and that you have fortunately fallen so early after the disaster into the friendly care of your good aunt. As you will have everything to furnish yourself with before you can proceed on your mission, draw upon me at sight for four or five thousand rupees, if it will be any immediate accommodation to you." Vague reports of this disaster reached England, and greatly disquieted Charles Metcalfe's parents. The intelligence first reached Mrs. Metcalfe, in the middle of the following March, at a ball; and was repeated to her next day at the Royal Institution. Afterwards Mrs. Plowden, her first informant, sent her an extract from a letter from Mrs. Dashwood, saying: "I was sorry to hear Mr. C. Metcalfe was attacked by robbers travelling up the country, and had lost a joint of one of his fingers, and received a cut on the head; but is now (Sept. 21) quite well, and going on his journey. He was obliged to spend some days with his aunt Richardson. He is a very fine, sensible young man." This was all the information that the family received for some weeks—Charles Metcalfe's own letters not having arrived.

carrying off our baggage, cutting off stragglers, and always avoiding a general action, inflicting upon our troops that desultory annoyance, in their capacity for which they were almost without a rival. In the course of October, Charles Metcalfe arrived at head-quarters, and was met with all outward marks of courtesy and kindness. But the welcome which he received was mere cold formality. The truth is, that he was not wanted. In spite of the excellent credentials which he carried—credentials which bore witness no less to his personal than to his official qualities—he was regarded with some mistrust. His position, indeed, was not a promising one. He was a civilian in the midst of a community of soldiers. He came fresh from the office of the Governor-General, and it is not improbable that men who knew little of the real character either of the one or of the other, were inclined to look upon him as a spy. There always has been a certain jealousy of political officers in a military camp, even when those "politicals" have been soldiers. Their presence is regarded as a tacit reflection on the short-comings of the general and his staff. But, superadded to these impediments to the *entente cordiale*, there were in the present instance to be contended with those class prejudices which, more or less, exist at all times between the civil and the military professions. It was young Metcalfe's business to assist the Commander-in-Chief in his negotiations with the native chiefs, to carry on the necessary correspondence with the civil officers in our own newly-acquired districts, to collect information relative to the move-

ments of the enemy, and to conduct other miscellaneous business comprised under the general head of "political affairs." Such a functionary at the head-quarters of Lake's army was not unlikely to be called a clerk, and sneered at as a non-combatant. But Charles Metcalfe, though he wore neither the King's nor the Company's uniform, had as much of the true spirit of the soldier in him as any officer in camp.

And this he waited only for an opportunity to prove. I believe it had reached his ears that something had been said about civilians participating in the pleasant excitement of the march and the socialities of head-quarters, but not sharing the active dangers of the campaign. Whether this was said or not, he was determined to show that, civilian as he was, he shrunk from none of those perils to which his military comrades were exposed. And an opportunity was not long wanting to him. The fortress of Deeg, distant some forty-five miles from Agra, was garrisoned by the allied troops of our enemies, Holkar and the Rajah of Bhurtpore. In the month of December, General Lake, who had determined upon the reduction of the place, encamped within sight of it, and awaited the arrival of his battering-train from Agra. On the 13th, having been joined by his guns, he took up his position before the fortress, and commenced an attack upon the outworks. On the 17th the breaching battery was ready for action, but such was the strength of the walls, that it was not until the 23rd that the breach was reported practicable, and dispositions made for the assault on the following day.

The storming party was told off, and Metcalfe volunteered to accompany it. He was one of the first who entered the breach. There are soldiers now living who remember that memorable Christmas-eve, and delight to speak of the gallantry of the young civilian. The "clerk" fairly won his spurs, and shared with the most distinguished of his comrades the honors no less than the dangers of one of the most brilliant achievements of the war. In the Commander-in-Chief's despatch, the name of Metcalfe was honorably mentioned. "Before I conclude this despatch," wrote Lord Lake, "I cannot help mentioning the spirited conduct of Mr. Metcalfe, a civil servant, who volunteered his services with the storming party, and, as I am informed, was one of the first in the breach."* Afterwards, the fine old soldier called him his "little stormer."

The chivalrous impulses of a youth of nineteen are not to be inquired into with too much nicety, or reasoned about with too much wisdom. Doubtless, it may be said that Charles Metcalfe was not despatched to Lord Lake's camp to help the Commander-in-Chief to carry fortified towns by assault.†

* It is worthy of remark, however, that the historian of the Mahratta war, Captain Thorn, is significantly silent regarding both the fact of Metcalfe's presence with the storming party, and the Commander-in-Chief's mention of it in his despatch; although throughout the entire narrative he has scrupulously recorded the names of all the military officers who were officially noticed by their chief.

† And this was said both in India and in England. Very different opinions were expressed on the subject. Writing to her son, in a letter expressive of mingled pride and anxiety, now commending his gallantry, now reproaching him for his temerity, Mrs. Metcalfe said: "Every one views it in a different light. Some give you a great deal of credit. Others think that you were wrong, not being of the profession; and one military man, in particular, met me the other day, and

This is an objection one scarcely need care to answer. And yet it may be answered with all gravity, and with due regard for the strictest rules of official propriety. It was of no small moment that the young civilian, representing as he did the Governor-General in the camp of the Commander-in-Chief, should be held in high estimation by the men with whom he was thus officially associated. It became him, by all honorable means, to increase his influence at head-quarters. And there were no surer means of doing this, than by showing his comrades that he was willing to share their dangers—even the dangers of the forlorn hope—and to emulate their worth on their own field of professional enterprise. Nothing is so intelligible—nothing is so generally appreciated—as personal gallantry. There is no position in life in which a man does not increase the prestige of his authority by demonstrating his possession of such a quality. There could be no more sneers at the clerk and the non-combatant after young Metcalfe's appearance in his shooting-jacket on the crest of the breach at Deeg.

Whatever may have been thought of this exploit

said: 'I hope you will scold your boy—scold him from me.' It was a man who has been at the head of the army in India." (Probably Sir Alured Clark, who had met Charles Metcalfe in Calcutta.) "There is one thing strikes me," adds Mrs. Metcalfe, with her wonted penetration—"you must have had some good and strong reasons to have gone out of your line. I hope it will not happen again; and that, should you have the military ardor upon you, Lord Lake will not permit you to throw yourself in the way of danger. One would think you imagined that your prospect in life was desperate, instead of its being one of the finest. Your outset has been beyond the most ardent expectations. Your abilities, being of a very uncommon kind, and your conduct regulated by a fine judgment (except in the storming business—forgive me, but a mother can never reconcile that to herself), must ensure you, if please God you live, further success, and that of the most distinguished nature."

by others, by Charles Metcalfe's young friends and associates in the Governor-General's office it was contemplated with enthusiasm and delight. There was a little group of young civilians at the Presidency, including some of the most promising members of the service, who a short time before Metcalfe's departure had erected themselves into a sort of Club or Association, which, in honor of Admiral Lord Howe, was called a society of "Howe Boys."* These Howe Boys were in the right frame to appreciate gallantry of any kind, and most of all in one of their own associates. So, when the news of Metcalfe's conduct at Deeg, followed speedily by Lord Lake's despatch, reached Calcutta, the Howe Boys held a meeting, the result of which is set forth in the following amusing letter:

"TO CHARLES THEOPHILUS METCALFE, ESQ., HOWE BOY.

"Howe Boys Office, January 18, 1805.

[Official—No. I.]

"SIR,—By the despatches of his Excellency the Commander-in-Chief we have been made acquainted with the glorious success of the British arms in the assault of the outworks of Deeg, and in the subsequent capture of that important fortress.

"2. His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief having been pleased to testify his high approbation of your conduct on this occasion, we consider it to be an act of indispensable justice to record our decided and deliberate judgment that the ardent spirit of zeal, energy, valor, and resolution manifested by you in the unsolicited offer of your personal services, and in the actual assault of the outworks of the fortress of Deeg, have been seldom equalled, and never excelled, by any of the youths in Lord Howe's Establishment.

"3. Your fortitude in refusing to submit to the imperious

* See, for some further notice of the Howe Boys, note in the Appendix.

dictates of a haughty ambassador,* your invincible resolution and consummate ability in opposing the establishment of a vicious and immoral institution,† and your ardent patriotism and honorable ambition in voluntarily exposing yourself to the dangers, hardships, and privations of an active campaign, had commanded our approbation, and had enabled us to anticipate with a considerable degree of confidence the continued advancement of your character and the unrestrained augmentation of your renown.

"4. We have no hesitation in declaring that your conduct has fully answered the high expectations which we had formed of it, that you have acted in strict conformity to those sentiments and principles of public virtue which ought to regulate the conduct of all the individuals in our society, and that you have deserved well of your country and of the members of Lord Howe's Establishment.

"5. Under these circumstances, we have unanimously determined to testify our sense of your conduct by presenting you with a silver pen as a mark of our applause, esteem, and approbation.

"We are your affectionate friends,

(Signed) "J. ADAM.
"A. H. COLE.
"C. D'OYLY.
"CHARLES PATTENSON.
"C. LUSHINGTON.
"JOHN WAUCHOPE.
"WM. HENRY TRANT.
"JOHN FORBES.
"W. BUTTERWORTH BAYLEY."‡

* "King Collins." Alluding to Metcalfe's breach with Colonel Collins, narrated in the previous chapter.

† The reference here is to a controversy which a little time before had agitated the Civil Service, relative to the basis upon which the proposed Pension Fund for the relief of the widows and orphans of its members was to be established. Of one section of the service John Adam and Charles Metcalfe were the leaders, and conjointly the mouthpiece; the principal manifestoes were issued in their name.

‡ With the exception of Mr. Adam,

From Deeg the Grand Army marched upon Bhurtpore—the most formidable stronghold of Central India. It was a maiden fortress, and had always been deemed impregnable. The Bhurtpore Rajah was a Jaut chief, who had at one time professed friendship for the English, but whom the first successes of Holkar had induced to throw off the mask and to unite himself with the Mahratta chieftain. Deeg was one of his strongholds. The decided part which he had taken had compelled Lake to reduce that fortress, the garrison of which was partly composed of Bhurtpore troops and partly of Holkar's fugitives; and now the British Commander determined to attack the Rajah in his capital. Indeed, since the battles which had been fought at Deeg* and Furruckabad, and in which both the infantry and cavalry of Holkar had been signally defeated, the Bhurtpore Rajah had become our most formidable antagonist. On the first day of the new year

who had by this time become Deputy Secretary in the Political department, the gentlemen signing this letter were all Assistants in the Governor-General's office. Mr. Adam rose to the highest offices of the State. After a long and distinguished career in the Secretariat he became a member of the Supreme Council, and was Governor-General during the interregnum between the Hastings and Amherst Governments, and died on his way home. Mr. (the Honorable A. H.) Cole was a Madras civilian, and for many years Resident at Mysore. Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) D'Oyly and Mr. Pattenson served chiefly in the Revenue and Commercial lines. Mr. Lushington was for twenty years in the Secretariat, and was Chief Secretary in 1825. Mr. Wauchope was a distinguished Magisterial and Judicial officer; and for some time Governor-General's agent in Bundlekund. Mr. Trant served chiefly in the Financial department. On his return to England he was sent to Parliament by the electors of Dover. Mr. Forbes quitted the Civil Service very early, and went home in the same vessel with Lord Wellesley. And Mr. Bayley, after holding the highest offices under Government, and sitting as Governor-General of India on the departure of Lord Amherst, returned to England to enter the Court of Directors, was twice elected Chairman of that body, and is still one of its most distinguished members.

* On the 13th of November. This battle was fought before Deeg by General Fraser and Colonel Monson. The siege did not take place till some weeks afterwards.

the army moved from Deeg, and on the following took up their position before the walls of the formidable Jaut fortress. Lake, who had under-estimated its strength, flung himself upon it with a precipitancy that could only result in failure. Four times the British troops were led to the attack, and four times they were repulsed. The enemy defended their works with remarkable vigor, and neglected no possible means of harassing their assailants and increasing the difficulties of the siege.

Nor were the enemies within the walls the only ones with whom we had then to contend. Holkar was reassembling the scattered remnants of his broken force, and Ameer Khan, a soldier of fortune, originally attached to the service of that chief, was at the head of a large body of marauding troops. This man, a Rohilla by birth, of a bold and enterprising character, and of abilities beyond the level of his countrymen, finding that little was to be gained by the alliance with Holkar and the Rajah of Bhurtpore, and having little sympathy with men of an opposite creed, determined to operate on his own account, and to invite the followers of the Prophet to flock to his standard in the Doab and Rohilkund. He had been in the near neighbourhood of Bhurtpore looking after our convoys, intent upon plunder; but now that he had formed more ambitious designs, he determined at once to cross the Jumna, to attack the Company's newly-acquired territories, and to excite the people to aid in our expulsion. Occupied as was Lake's army with the exhausting siege of

Bhurtpore, and unable to detach any large bodies of troops for service on the other side of the river, the danger of this threatened incursion was not to be lightly regarded. But what the British commander could do, he did—and he did it promptly. He despatched a brigade, consisting principally of light dragoons, under General Smith, in pursuit of Ameer Khan; and out rode the British horsemen, on a February morning, from Lake's camp, determined, in camp-language, to "give a good account" of the Rohilla.

With this force rode Charles Metcalfe, as Smith's political *aide*. It was his duty to conduct all the diplomatic business of the campaign. Of this the collection and the diffusion of accurate information relative to the movements of the enemy and of our detachments in different parts of the country was no insignificant part. He was at once the Secretary and Persian translator of General Smith, and the representative of the Governor-General in the districts which Smith's force was sent to defend. He said afterwards, that his position at this time was a pleasant one. It was a pleasant, because it was a responsible one. In his own department, at least, he was supreme; and his young ambition delighted in the thought of being thrown upon his own resources.

All the correspondence of the expedition not strictly relating to matters of military detail passed through his hands. Veteran officers, who had seen good service in the field before the young civilian

was born, addressed him respectfully, and sent him reports of their movements. Members of his own profession who had served under Cornwallis, recognised the importance of his position, and clearly discerning the merits of the man, were eager to maintain a frequent correspondence with him. Nor were the communications of which he was the organ confined to his own people, or to his own language. He wrote Persian letters to the chiefs, and issued proclamations to the inhabitants of the country through which he passed—not in his own name, but what was of more importance—in his own ideas and his own words. There was much in all this to satisfy the ambition—or, as he in his self-searching candor would have said—to gratify the vanity of the young diplomatist. He was fast becoming a personage of some political importance—taking, indeed, a place in history—and that, too, before he was of age. India, he began to think, was, after all, the place for eager aspirants of his talents and his temper. There was nothing like this in Lord Grenville's office.

Among his correspondents at this time was Mr. Archibald Seton, with whom he subsequently came to be more intimately associated. Mr. Seton was then our chief civil officer in Rohilkund—a man of unbounded zeal and indefatigable industry; and he at once put himself in communication with Metcalfe as the mouthpiece of Smith's force. The following letter, written from Bareilly, is of importance, as illustrating the political condition of Rohilkund and the views of Ameer Khan, thus making clear the purposes of the expedition, and the nature of the

service on which Metcalfe was now employed, and the description of business which he was called upon to transact:

MR. ARCHIBALD SETON TO CHARLES METCALFE.

"Bareilly, February 22nd, 1805.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I am this instant honored with your favor of yesterday, communicating the very interesting outline of the plan which General Smith means, until reinforced by infantry, to adopt for the protection of Moradabad, Bareilly, and Peelebeit, from the attempts of the enemy. Accept, my dear sir, my best thanks for this communication, and for the very obliging manner in which it is made. . . . .

"Although I know not that my official reply to your public despatch contained any information that could be found useful, I regret its not having reached camp, as it would at least have exhibited a proof how much I feel it my duty to exert myself to the utmost in endeavoring to meet the wishes of General Smith. It chiefly related to what I had learned respecting the views and objects of Ameer Khan in making this irruption, and to the encouragement and assistance which he was likely to receive. I shall briefly recapitulate its contents from memory. I did not give myself time to keep a copy.

"I observed, that I was in the possession of documents under the seal of Ameer Khan, which proved beyond a doubt that his views upon the present occasion are by no means limited to a desire of enriching himself by plunder, or causing us a temporary distress. He aims at the subversion of our dominion in Rohilkund, and the establishment in its room of that of the Rohillas, or Afghans. He has addressed letters to all the present Sirdars of that tribe, and to the representatives of such as are dead, calling upon them, as Rohillas and Mahomedans, to assist him in expelling the English and restoring the power of their own tribe. 'The Afghans,' he observes, in one of his letters, 'are dispersed, it is true—but they are all of one mind.' In a word, the present invasion has for its object the extermina-

tion of the English; and this object Ameer Khan expects to effect by exciting them to a general rise.

"As yet, I have reason to believe his endeavors to induce men of family, character, or property to join his standard have been unsuccessful. I fear, however, he will find many adherents among the needy, idle soldiers of fortune, with whom this province abounds.

"All the Rohillas of family with whom I have conversed on the subject, speak with the utmost contempt of Ameer Khan, and declare that they would rather die than give him the smallest encouragement. This sensation I have endeavored to feed and sharpen. I have tried to work upon their Pride, by reminding them that his father and grandfather were the servants of theirs; upon their Fears, by representing to them the oppressions they were likely to suffer from a ferocious upstart if he succeeded, and the utter ruin which must overwhelm his adherents if he failed; and upon their *Hopes*, by placing before their eyes the advantages which they would derive from a steady attachment to the British Government. . . . .

"From what I have observed above of the views of Ameer Khan, it is evident that in a political point of view his incursion is of a much more serious and important nature than that of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, whose religious persuasion and want of local influence prevented him from being permanently dangerous.

"To check, therefore, the attempts of the present invader, before he establishes himself and unhinges the minds of the people, appears to me to be a most desirable object. But this cannot *now* be done without a large military force. I rejoice, therefore, that General Smith has taken measures for obtaining a reinforcement. It is, as you observe, impossible for cavalry to act in the part of the country where you now are, in consequence of the numerous water-courses; or, as they are there termed, *gools*. This circumstance renders infantry indispensable. The moment Bhurtpore falls, the Commander-in-Chief will probably be able to detach a force sufficient to effect the very interesting

object of expelling Ameer Khan. Should the latter be suffered to continue long in the country at this very critical season, when the promising crops which are to feed our treasury are beginning to ripen, the issue must be no less fatal to our finances than injurious to our political interests. I can hardly conceive an object more interesting in either point of view, than the effecting the expulsion of this truly dangerous invader. Were it a Mahratta invasion, this language would be too strong for the occasion. . . . .

"And now, my dear sir, allow me to repeat my grateful sense of those very obliging parts of your letter which relate personally to myself, and to add a request that you will upon all occasions have the goodness to let me know, without reserve, in what I can have the happiness to contribute to your comfort or convenience.

"Believe me ever,

"Yours very faithfully,

"ARCHIBALD SETON."

When Mr. Seton said, in this letter, that the chief people of Rohilkund would not flock round the standard of Ameer Khan, he said what the event justified. But perhaps he somewhat overrated the military power of that chieftain when he wrote that General Smith's cavalry would not be able to dislodge him without strong reinforcements of infantry from Lord Lake's camp. Smith crossed the Jumna, pushed across the Doab with uncommon rapidity, and soon appeared in Rohilkund. It was a harassing but an exciting service. Men took little account of distance or fatigue, and their horses seemed to be sustained by the spirit and impelled by the enthusiasm of their riders. The fine bracing climate of Upper India, and the noble

scenery which opened out before them as they neared the great mountain-range of the Himalayah, invigorated and refreshed our English officers, as they pursued the Rohilla freebooter across his own fair province, and tried to tempt him to a general action. Many long night marches across difficult tracts of country deprived the trooper of his accustomed rest; but he went on without a murmur. He was on the track of the enemy, who were plundering and devastating along their whole line of march; and as he passed the smoking remains of villages, and crossed the fields laid waste by Ameer Khan's reckless Pindarrees, he pricked on with renewed impulses of zeal, eager to stop their desolating career. At last the long-wished-for opportunity arrived. Smith found himself near Afzulghur, face to face with Ameer Khan's army. There was a short but sturdy conflict, with the anticipated result. The British cavalry did terrible execution among the Patan levies of the Rohilla chief, whilst our galloper guns played with terrible effect upon his Horse. Beaten at all points, there was nothing left for him but a precipitate flight. Making a forced march, he re-crossed the Ganges, and as he went, the wreck of his army melted away. He had nothing to look upon, as the result of his temerity, but a disastrous and ignominious failure.

Having effected the expulsion of Ameer Khan from Rohilkund and the Doab, General Smith returned with his detachment to head-quarters, and joined Lord Lake's army before Bhurtpore on the 23rd of March. Two days before this, the Rohilla

chief, abandoned by all his troops, save a small body of predatory horsemen, had re-crossed the Jumna, and arrived at Futtehpore Sikree. His power of independent action was entirely gone, and he was willing to take service under some more fortunate and influential leader.

In the mean while, Holkar, with the characteristic elasticity of his tribe, had sufficiently recovered from his late reverses to muster a strong body of horse, and to threaten Lake's camp at Bhurtpore. Upon this the English general, placing himself at the head of his cavalry, and taking with him a detachment of infantry, moved from his position to beat up the Mahratta quarters. But Holkar, prepared for flight, evaded the meditated attack, and retired to some distance from Bhurtpore, where Lake, thinking that the enemy would be less on the alert the further he was removed from our camp, again endeavored to surprise him. The attempt was not wholly unsuccessful. Holkar, having gained information of our approach, had sent off his baggage, and was prepared to march on the following morning; when Lake, on the night of the 2nd of April, determined not to wait for the dawn, but guided by the enemy's watch-fires, moved at once on the Mahratta camp.

Aware of the advance of the British troops, and little desiring to meet them in fair fight, Holkar again attempted to escape; but our cavalry were close upon him, and the pursuit was a most effective one. Some brilliant charges made by the pursuers told with terrible effect on the flying Mahrattas,

who, utterly broken, and unable to rally, dispersed themselves in disordered masses about the country. After a rapid march of some fifty miles, Lake reappeared on his old ground, and prepared to commence anew operations against Bhurtpore, if the enemy were not inclined to make overtures of peace.

On these occasions Charles Metcalfe accompanied the Commander-in-Chief, and it was of them that he wrote in the following letter to his friend Sherer. The stirring life in camp, and the active business of the public service, had left him little time for private correspondence; and when at last he took up his pen to address some of his old associates at the Presidency, he could only write by snatches in the midst of the incessant interruption of the camp:

CHARLES METCALFE TO J. W. SHERER.

"Camp near Bhurtpore, April 6, 1805.

"My dear Sherer,—Welcome back to Bengal; and accept the congratulations of your old friend Metcalfe upon your safe return. . . . You will not, I think, have been surprised to find me absent from Calcutta. You know me to possess a love of change, and a silly desire to deviate from the beaten track. I am much pleased with the determination which sent me again abroad, and have derived much satisfaction from the new scenes which have opened upon me. . . . .

"Within the last few days we have twice surprised Holkar's camp. Yesterday was the last time. [*Written on the 3rd.*] They thought themselves perhaps secure, as they were twelve or fourteen miles distant. We got upon them at daylight, and gave a close and galloping chase for many miles. We were mounted twelve hours, and went above forty miles. These *dours* must have a fine effect, and will sicken our enemy very much. I go on all these expeditions. Without their

occasional occurrence, Camp would be dull. I do not know how soon I may return to Calcutta. I am anxious to see you again, and talk over our respective adventures.

"The arrival of your letter within the last few minutes gives me great joy [*April 6th*], but with that joy a great deal of shame and contrition is mixed. You expected—and you had a right to expect, and I should have been hurt if you had not expected—that I should have been one of the first to congratulate you on your return, and that 'long ere I read yours you would receive a letter from me, greeting you on the occasion.' The guilty wretch trembles before your judgment-seat; but I cannot suffer you to condemn me without an explanation. The fact then really is, that office work has left no leisure to write. When I say no leisure to write, I mean to write *to you* as I would wish to write, with my mind abstracted from all other things, and occupied solely with friendship. A hasty note I might have snatched a moment to pen; but I wished to converse with you at length. This letter was commenced on the 26th of last month, and has, as you will perceive, been several times interrupted. Even this page was commenced four hours back; and although I had determined to-day to set business at defiance, I could not prevent the invasion of visitors. When I consider the long period which must pass before this reaches you, I dread that I may suffer in your opinion in that time, and regret that I did not send all documents to the devil, and finish my letter to you before.

"I expect much from you when we meet; when that may be I am not sufficiently long-sighted to decide. If you recollect any particulars of my brother's house, situation, habits, &c., you will give great pleasure in communicating them to one to whom the most trivial anecdotes will be interesting. I am rejoiced to find that Theophilus still continues to be satisfied with his situation; but rather surprised that his ambition is satisfied within the limits of the Factory of Canton.

"My situation with General Smith was a very pleasant one; here I am more subordinate. I confess to you that I should

not be sorry (many of my objects being fulfilled) to return to Calcutta; and your arrival has added another inducement. From a former part of this letter you will perceive that I anticipated some remarks from you upon the *new Cabinet*. Those which you have made are such as I expected, and I perceive that the same ideas have passed through your mind which have been in mine upon that subject. You will readily imagine that the association of the new party did not diminish the weight of the motives which induced me to quit the Cabinet for the Field. The situation was deprived of its credit when it became so open. . . . . My only views are, to return to office when I am satisfied that it will be right in me to quit the Army. I am not at all tired of it, but I think that I may be losing some advantages attending upon the Governor-General's office, which at a future period I may not regain. I should grieve if anything occurred which should fix me in this part of the world; I see no prospect of such an event, but should lament it exceedingly. A short time ought to decide what will be done with us. I do not admire a doubtful state of things. It is my intention, I hope that I may fulfil it, that you should frequently hear from

"Your sincere and affectionate friend,

"C. T. METCALFE."

A few days after this letter was written, a Treaty of Peace was concluded with the Rajah of Bhurtpore, and on the 21st of April Lord Lake broke up his camp, and marched down to the Chumbul, where, having crossed the river, he formed a junction with the Bundlekund force under Colonel Martindale, and, with the object mainly of holding Scindiah in check, halted there during the greater part of the month of May. A subsidiary treaty having been concluded with the Rana of Gohud,

Lord Lake, warned by the painful obtrusiveness of the hot winds, made preparations for the march of his army to cantonments at Agra, Futtehpore, and Muttra; and re-crossed the Chumbul at the end of the month. On the 30th they were at Dholpore, and from this place Metcalfe wrote again to his friend Sherer:

CHARLES METCALFE TO J. W. SHERER.

"Camp, Dholpore, May 30, 1805.

"My dear Sherer,— . . . I have lately had some most delightful letters from my father, which will, I am sure, heighten your opinion of him when I have an opportunity of showing them to you. I shall not fail to *storm* your *quarters*, and make a lodgment within your walls, or, to speak in a more *civil* way, I shall avail myself of your kind invitation, and pay my respects in Post-Office-street immediately on my arrival in Calcutta. In short, my friend, I heartily thank you, and hope speedily to be with you. Your advice, which will always be most acceptable, agrees, I rejoice to find, with my own resolves. You will have seen from my letter to Bayley, that on other grounds than those mentioned by you I had determined to go to Calcutta. I am still ignorant when I shall quit the army; I hope soon. I had intended to have loitered on the road, and, as I have always hitherto travelled up and down in haste, to have taken a leisurely view of all the stations on the river. What you say will hasten my voyage, for I would wish to see Lord Wellesley as much as I can before he goes.

"As far as my present thoughts go, I can sincerely tell you that I have not the wish to obtain any situation; for, to tell you the truth, India does not contain a situation, which would come within the bounds of my just claims, that would give me any pleasure. I understand the Presidency Secretaryships are reduced to a despicable degree by our very noble and approved

good masters. I will postpone a dish of politics until we meet. I shrink from them as from a serpent, for I have seen things in them which sicken me. I am amazed at the state of your finances, which are almost as bad as mine. Cole is not yet with us. The expectation of his arrival has been the only cause which has prevented an endeavor to get away from the army before this. This is short, but shall be followed soon.

"Your very sincere friend,

"C. T. METCALFE."

It will be gathered from this letter that Charles Metcalfe had determined at this time to leave the army, and to return to Calcutta. It had been made known to him, by his correspondents at the Presidency, that Lord Wellesley was about to return to England, and he was eager, on many accounts, to see the statesman, to whom he owed so much, before his final departure. But soon after the despatch of this letter an incident occurred, which caused him, after much consideration, to forego the intention he had formed. He had gone on to Muttra, with one division of the army, for the purpose of spending a few days with his friend Arthur Cole; and there he met Colonel John Malcolm. What the result of the meeting was may best be told in Metcalfe's own words, as contained in the following most interesting letters:

CHARLES METCALFE TO J. W. SHERER.

"Camp, Muttra, June 10, 1805.

"MY DEAR SHERER,—A thousand thanks for yours of the 24th. I shall, in the first instance, waive any discussion of the important contents of that letter, and shall make you acquainted with the inconsistency of my own conduct. You have, doubt-

less, expected that my departure from the army has taken place before this time, and you will be surprised to learn that it is now most probable that I shall make another campaign, if a campaign is necessary, or assist in any political arrangements which may happen in this part of India. I shall proceed regularly to state the causes which have produced this change in my intentions.

"From my last letter you will have believed me to be decided in my plan of returning to Calcutta, and I never was more decided in my life. Colonel Malcolm and Cole joined us on the day when the army separated for their different destinations—to Agra, Futtehpore, and Muttra. I should, undoubtedly, have accompanied the Agra division at the nearest road to Calcutta, but the desire of having Cole's society for a few days brought me on to Muttra. On the day after his arrival in camp, Colonel Malcolm, to my surprise (for I could scarcely call myself acquainted with him), entered in a full, friendly, and flattering manner into the question of my intention, which Cole had mentioned to him. With full confidence he laid open to me the various plans which were in contemplation, gave me admission to all his papers, and, by appearing to interest himself in my welfare, prepared me to listen to him with great attention. He expatiated on the great field of political employment now open in Hindostan, the necessity of many appointments and missions, the superiority, as he seems to think, of my claims, and the great risk, if not certain injury, of my quitting the scene of action. By holding out the offer of Distinction, he gained the important outwork of Desire, and the citadel of Resolve was in danger of falling. It did not immediately yield however, and notwithstanding all he said, I clung fondly to my rooted and long-indulged intention of returning to Calcutta, and of paying my last respects to Lord Wellesley. There was, however, sufficient in what Malcolm said to induce me to reflect seriously on the step I should take.

"I did not converse again with Malcolm for five days, and

in that period the subject was ever in my mind, and I never experienced such irresolution on any occasion in which I had the power of self-decision. Exclusive of the reasons suggested by Malcolm for my remaining, others occurred to me which he could not mention. I have long, as you know, looked upon the Political as my line of service ; and although I have seen what people call Native Courts, and have passed over many countries, I have had the misfortune of being under men whose talents, knowledge, and character, or rather want of these, I could not admire ; who gave no encouragement to my desire to learn, who on the contrary rather made me sick of my pursuit of knowledge. I have felt myself degraded by my situation, and instead of studying acquaintance with the natives, I have shrunk from notice as much as possible. My knowledge, therefore, is only that which I acquired in the Governor-General's office, and which, though highly useful, does not in itself qualify a man to be a Political Agent. The opportunity of acting under a man with Malcolm's talents and reputation, established knowledge, inquisitive genius, and communicative disposition, promises advantages of the most solid and certain nature, and of real importance. I could not, however, give up my desire to visit Calcutta, and my second conversation with Malcolm ended in our agreeing that I should run down to Calcutta and return quickly. On the same evening, however, he strongly advised me not to go, and the next day we had a long conversation which ended in my being very uncertain what to do. I think, however, clearly that I shall stay, but I never did anything with more reluctance. I long to see our glorious Wellesley before he quits us. Malcolm tells me that I cannot better show my gratitude to Lord Wellesley than by assisting in scenes in which he will always have great interest.

"Farewell! I shall write to you to-morrow again, for I have much to say. Cole desires to be particularly remembered ; I believe that few respect you more than he does. Show this to

Bayley with my love, to account for my conduct. Remember me to Fagan, and Adam, and Trant.

"Your sincere friend,

"C. T. METCALFE."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Camp, Muttra, June 11, 1805.

"MY DEAR SHERER,—I wrote to you yesterday and said that I would write again to-day—I forgot to tell you that one reason conspiring with the rest to induce me to remain is this—Mercer will go to Calcutta, and Malcolm, who will manage all political concerns at head-quarters, has expressed a wish that I should remain on his account, expecting to derive more assistance from me than I fear he will. This subject fills my mind, and it is with very great difficulty that I can reconcile myself to the overthrow of my plans—plans which I have so long ruminated over with anticipated delight. I rest my chief consolation on Malcolm's character, and the useful knowledge that I shall obtain whilst with him. It is my intention to cultivate his intimacy zealously—his advances to me have been very flattering—I foresee one thing; he is a likely man to give my mind a turn towards literary pursuits, which have scarcely ever entered my imagination—nay, he already has; he himself is an enthusiast.

"I do not know what opinion to give upon Lord Cornwallis's appointment; I cannot help thinking that he will not come out. If the supercession of Lord Wellesley is occasioned by an alarm existing in consequence of Monson's retreat before Holkar, the conduct of the Directors and Ministers has been equally unjust and contemptible. It is unjust that confidence should be removed from a Governor-General whose whole conduct has been accompanied by the applause and confidence of his country, because a check is experienced for a time in one part of the immense empire under his charge. It is unjust to imagine that he is not equal to meet the approaching difficulty.

It is contemptible to have been alarmed seriously at the retreat of a detachment of five battalions before all Holkar's force. I do not foresee any change of measures or system under Lord Cornwallis. I am convinced that any change will be unwise. To recede I think is ruin.

"This is not a new observation. Conciliatory measures are, I think, impossible; they have already been pursued too long. It is with regret that I have perceived the last six months of Lord Wellesley's administration marked by an indecision and weakness (caused, I imagine, by his dread of people at home) unworthy of the rest of his wise and dignified government. He has, however, been kept ignorant of the real state of things, and his *agents* have not done their duty. I do not believe it possible to persuade the Mahrattas *yet* that we have moderation. They know no such thing themselves, and why should they attribute that quality to us, if we hold the language of submission when they hold that of insolence? Shall we, Sherer, sue for peace, when a Mahratta, in violation of all treaty, insults our Government, and in every act and word hurls at us a thundering menace of war? Peace is, I think, impossible, unless we prepare most vigorously for war. We should breathe the spirit of an insulted and mighty power; I should not be surprised if the dread of our determined attack were sufficient to scatter all our enemies. When they are reduced and humble, when we have crushed their insolent pride, then I would display moderation. But I do not see the prospect of permanent tranquillity whilst our controlling influence is spread over every part of India. We had this in our power once, I think twice, but lost it for want of information in one quarter, and want of foresight in another.

"It would require a long discussion to explain my meaning. We may command all India in a few months more. We need never interfere in the internal government of any state, but we ought to regulate the external relations of all. I have made many bold assertions without much troubling you with arguments. You know my way. I shall respect the opinions of

the men the opposite to my own; what I have put down are, at present, decidedly *my* real ones. You know me too well to be surprised at the self-satisfied impudence with which I have settled this *trifling* subject.

"I want Hufeezoodeen here very much. I wish that you would send him up. He will require some handsome inducement to quit his situation in the College. I empower you to grant him anything between his college salary (60 rupees) and 100 rupees *per mensem*, and to grant him some allowance for his journey up to me, either in the way of a monthly travelling allowance, or present; I wish him to set off immediately. You know my prospects as well as I do, and can make known to him what will be his.

"There are appointments for natives in *our* line of 100 and 200 rupees *per mensem*. Of course if he follows my fortunes it will be incumbent on me to provide for him, and it is not improbable that he may, at some time not far distant, obtain a situation under Government, which will secure to him a handsome provision in the event of my death, &c.* Let him come to Agra, and there wait upon Wemyss or Mr. Munro, where he will have introductions ready for him.

"I am, dear Sherer,

"Your affectionate and sincere friend,

"C. T. METCALFE."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Muttra, August 6, 1805.

"MY DEAR SHERER,—It is long since I received your friendly letter of the 28th of June. I shall be very glad of Hufeezoodeen, for I think that he is a respectable man. I am not certain that he is a man of business, and I am not anxious

* Hufeezoodeen joined Metcalfe, and was for many years attached to him as head Moonshee. He followed his master to Delhi and Hyderabad, and made a considerable fortune. Some allusions to him will be found in subsequent chapters of this Memoir.

that he should be, for I should like to form him for my own habits. I thank you truly for the trouble you have taken about his voyage to me. I shall, I think, increase his allowances when he arrives. Your letters are the only encouragements that I receive to pursue the life which I have laid down for myself. Your sentiments and expressions would make me proud of it; Bayley, Hamilton, and Cole think it unhappy.

"I am at a loss to know what is hereafter to become of me; I sometimes long for quiet and a select few of my friends; but if I were in the enjoyment of those things, I think it not improbable that I should long again for bustle and motion. I see that all Secretaries are swept from the face of the earth; this, in all probability, will affect my prospects. One part of your letter particularly strikes me, and I am not prepared to give a serious opinion on the subject. You speak of our inability to maintain our supremacy when we have acquired it. It is a prodigious question. I do not know that I could acquiesce in your way of thinking. At present I have no idea that deserves the name of a thought. Inconsiderately speaking, I should say that we are better able to maintain our supremacy over the whole than we should have been, in a few years, to preserve a portion of our dominions. And I look upon the events which have accelerated the establishment of our government over almost all India as necessary and unavoidable consequences of the events which preceded them. I should be happy to see your sentiments on the whole subject. In 1803, there certainly were powers in India which were very formidable; now I think undoubtedly there are none.

"I cannot reflect without indignation upon the conduct which has been adopted to Lord Wellesley. It appears a surprising instance of determined malice or desperate ignorance when a patriot, who has rendered the services that Lord Wellesley has done to his country, is superseded in his government, and is exposed to the most active measures to disgrace him. Disgraced he cannot be, I think, and the darts which his enemies fling at him will return upon their own heads. Now,

if a proper spirit exists in the settlement, now is the moment for an address. Lord Wellesley's departure from this country should surely be accompanied with every possible mark of respect, gratitude, and attachment. I see no harm that is likely to arise from Lord Cornwallis's government. On the contrary, I look at it with confidence. His internal government will be excellent I have no doubt. I am anxious about his politics. The tame conduct which when he was here before would have been wise, might now be very otherwise. With regard to his appointment personally I am quite indifferent. No man could have come to India upon whom I have fewer claims, and from whom I expect less.

"I continue to like Malcolm much. As a person who is to be my immediate superior, I do not fancy a better. . . . I am more worked, and more incessantly and more variously worked, than I ever was. I literally have no time to myself. My private correspondence is entirely suspended, and my answer to you has been thus long delayed. I find it more than is pleasant, for I have no relief. A day of labour makes society in the evening delightful. There is no such thing here. The Commander-in-Chief's table is full of restraint, and never has society. So, to confess the truth, I am much bored. Some snug dinners with you, Bayley, Fagan, and one or two others, would be delightful. I wish you financiers would find some money for *us* soldiers. How we apples swim!

"Your affectionate friend,

"C. T. METCALFE.

"Kindest remembrances to Bayley, Fagan, Adam, Trant. Tell Plowden I will write to him soon to explain that I am toughly worked."

So the intended visit to Calcutta was abandoned, and Charles Metcalfe, now resolute not to sacrifice his fair prospects of advancement in the Political line of the public service, despatched a letter to

the Presidency in his place. Doubtless, this was the wiser course. The letter addressed to Lord Wellesley's private secretary, fully expressed the gratitude and admiration of the young civilian, who owed so much to the departing Governor-General:

CHARLES METCALFE TO MAJOR MERRICK SHAWE.

"Muttra, June 20, 1805.

"DEAR SHAWE,—The intelligence of Lord Wellesley's intention to quit India has caused universal regret, and it would be very surprising if I were not afflicted by it.

"I should be very sorry that his Lordship should quit this country without receiving the humble assurance of my eternal thankfulness and gratitude; but the various acts of his goodness towards me have long filled my heart with sentiments which it would be vain for me to attempt to express.

"In common with every man who loves his country, and particularly with those who have watched the course of affairs, I must lament Lord Wellesley's resignation of the government at this moment, as a most grievous public misfortune, and however improbable it may be that his Lordship would be induced to remain under the confederacy of ignorance, ingratitude, and malice which has been formed against him by the majority of the Court of Directors, yet whilst there is a possibility of such a change in his Lordship's resolution, I cannot, and will not, relinquish the hope of it.

"In speaking of the Directors as I have done, I of course separate my father from those men with whom he happens in station to be associated. His opinions are widely different from theirs, and there is not in the United Kingdom, nor in India, nor in the world, a man who has a greater admiration of Lord Wellesley's talents and virtues, or a higher sense of

the vast advantages which our nation has derived from his administration.

"You well know that I must lament Lord Wellesley's departure, from private and personal considerations. I have been so long used to look up to his Lordship's approbation as the highest reward which I could receive, that in his departure I shall lose one great incitement to exertion; I trust that I shall always do my duty to my country, and prefer the public interests to any other. If I do not, I must lose sight of everything that I have learned in the Governor-General's office. Yet, if ever I perform any services which may deserve to be approved, I shall regret that Lord Wellesley is not here to approve them, for his approbation would be more precious to me than that of any other Governor-General ever can be. His Lordship's favor first distinguished me, brought me out of the beaten track of the service, and placed me in situations from which prospects of future eminence and success opened upon me. If ever these prospects are realised, I shall owe their fulfilment to Lord Wellesley, and I shall carry with me through life the firm conviction of an endless obligation.

"You may remember when I quitted Calcutta that I particularly requested Lord Wellesley's permission to return to his family and office at the end of the campaign; the hope of doing so has been ever uppermost in my mind. When I received the melancholy news that his Lordship was preparing to quit India, I was more than ever anxious to proceed to Calcutta, in order that I might have the honor of paying my respects to him before his departure.

"When I was on the point of requesting Lord Lake's permission to quit head-quarters, my intentions were checked by Colonel Malcolm's expressing a wish that I should remain here, as he has the goodness to suppose that I might be useful.

"He tells me that I cannot better show my gratitude to Lord Wellesley than by assisting in scenes in which he will

ever feel an interest. If I could, indeed, flatter myself that I could be useful, or that the motives of my stay should meet with his Lordship's approbation, I should less feel the disappointment of not being able to pay my best respects in person. The expression, however, of a wish for me to remain, on the part of an officer in Colonel Malcolm's situation, I consider to be a public call. Under an officer with Colonel Malcolm's great knowledge and abilities, I expect to acquire information and experience which may hereafter enable me to perform useful public services.

"I have no favor to ask from his Lordship; the cup of his kindness has been already filled beyond my deserts.

"My last request is, that his Lordship will believe me to be bound to him by the most sincere gratitude and attachments. It would be presumptuous in me to pretend to offer my humble services to his Lordship, yet I should be favored if he would consider me as his devoted servant, ever anxious to receive, and eager to obey, his commands.

"All India will anxiously watch the future course of his Lordship's public life, and I hope that he will continue to guard the fate of India. I hope that his Lordship will long enjoy every happiness that he can wish, that he will soon overthrow all his enemies, and see the accomplishment of all his designs.

"I trust that I shall be excused if I have taken any improper liberty in writing this letter. I am, and can never cease to be, actuated by the greatest reverence for Lord W.'s character, and the most respectful attachment to his person.

"Wishing you, dear Shawe, a pleasant voyage and a happy life,

"I remain, yours sincerely,

"C. T. METCALFE."

This letter, which was very gratifying to Lord Wellesley, produced the following reply, under the hand of his private secretary:

MAJOR MERRICK SHAWE TO CHARLES METCALFE.

"Calcutta, July 10, 1805.

"DEAR METCALFE,—In this season of hurry and packing up you will not expeet from me so long a letter in reply to yours of the 20th of June as the subjeet of your letter merits. It will be suffieient to inform you that Lord Wellesley was extremely gratified by its eontents. His Lordship has reeeived it as a warm and unequivoeal testimony of your attachment to him. The sentiments which the present state of affairs has exeited in your mind do eredit to your judgment and to your feelings, and as Lord Wellesley entertains a most favorable opinion of both, your expressions were highly satisfactory to him. Lord Wellesley is disposed to form the most favorable expcetations of your future sueeess from his opinion of your publie zeal and talents, and I hope he is too good a judge to be disappointed. I beg leave to add my sineere good wishes, and the expression of my hopes that his expectations may be fulfilled.

"Lord Wellesley would have been very glad to see you previous to his departure, but he entirely approves your resolution to remain at your present post at this erisis.

"I trust that the state of affairs in Hindostan is rapidly advaneing towards an advantageous and permanent settlement, and if your father could bite his brethren in Leadenhall-street, all would be well with respect to the future safety of this country.

"Believe me to be, ever yours sineerely,

"MERRICK SHAWE.

"Pray remember me to Cole, who will always do eredit to Lord Howe's boys."

On the 20th of August, 1805, Lord Wellesley took his final departure from Calcutta, and in the beginning of January, 1806, he set foot again on English soil. Soon after his arrival he expressed a wish to

see Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, who called upon him, and received from the lips of the retired Governor-General an account of the talents and the disposition of his son, which might have gladdened any father's heart. It was the fortune of Lord Wellesley, as it was the fortune of another great Indian statesman, to be assailed and reviled, under the shelter of parliamentary privilege, by men who could not understand his measures or appreciate his character. Among the foremost of his defenders in the House of Commons was Sir Theophilus Metcalfe, who had done battle for him, too, in the Court of Directors, and being in the minority at the India House, had thereby sacrificed his chances of succeeding to the Chair. It was an honest and a manly defence, based upon sincere convictions, the result of much knowledge and experience, and it was not persevered in with less heartiness for the reflection that, whilst defending the character of an able statesman, he was serving the friend of his favorite son.

CHAPTER VI.

[1805—1806.]

THE "GREAT GAME" ENDED.

Arrival of Lord Cornwallis — His Policy — Necessities of an Exhausted Treasury—Charles Metcalfe's Views of the New System—Letters to Mr. Sherer—State of our Relations with Scindiah and Holkar—Advance to the Banks of the Hyphasis—Treaty with Holkar—Return of the Army—Metcalfe appointed to the Delhi Residency.

On the 30th of July, 1805, Lord Cornwallis took upon himself a second time the office of Governor-General of India. He went out to extricate the country from political entanglements and financial embarrassments which had disquieted and alarmed the Home Government, and not without solid reason for their anxiety. The British power in the East had been for some time subjected to all the exhausting influences of a state of chronic warfare. No sooner had one campaign been brought to a close than we were continually finding ourselves at the outset of another. And whilst we were putting down our new enemies, our old ones, in spite of the most solemn engagements, were bracing themselves up to renew the contest. It seemed, indeed, without any hyperbole, to be a great national illustration of the old story of Hercules and the Hydra.

The East India Company were at this time essentially a Merchant-company. They were restrained by act of Parliament from wars and conquests, and from treaties with native princes likely to entangle us in wars and conquests. They desired, both upon principle and upon policy, to abstain from the extension of their empire; for they believed that there was only weakness in such extension, and that by seeking new fields of political enterprise we should neglect the good government of the old, and utterly sacrifice the Trade. It was not strange, therefore, that they should have viewed with the liveliest apprehension the recent great conquests in Central India; the treaties and the acquisitions that had attended them. We were rapidly becoming masters of the whole continent of India, in spite of the principles, and in spite of the policy, of the Company; and the Court of Directors, viewing the progress of these great events from a distance, could only see in this universal dominion the forerunner of universal prostration and decay. The gigantic military enterprises which we had undertaken had not only exhausted the treasury, they were forestalling the revenues of the country. The Government of British India, indeed, was fast approaching a state of bankruptcy; and in the eyes of a commercial company this was the most alarming contingency of all.

It is not to be doubted that our position in India at this time was beset with difficulties and dangers of no ordinary kind. It is not to be doubted that

those difficulties and dangers were only to be removed by the establishment of Peace. But they who attributed to Lord Wellesley a disinclination to Peace, were ignorant and unjust. His steadiest friends and warmest admirers were shaking their heads and saying amongst themselves that the "glorious little man" was losing heart—that he had become far too prone to compromises and concessions—that he was overlooking insults and offences which ought to be resented, and rewarding as friends or welcoming as associates men who deserved only the chastisement due to the most unscrupulous of our enemies. And, doubtless, they rightly estimated the deserts of the Mahratta chieftains. But wisdom wears one garb on the banks of the Jumna; another on the banks of the Hooghly; and another, it may be added, on the banks of the Thames. Neither the players of the "great game" in Lord Lake's camp, nor the merchant-statesmen in Leadenhall-street, whilst they set up theories of their own, both wise after their kind, took account of those practical impediments to War or Peace with which the Governor-General had to contend. They did not reflect that Peace at one time might be as difficult as War at another. They did not reflect—to use an expression the emphasis of which atones for its want of elegance—that it might happen that, in making War or in making Peace, Lord Wellesley "could not help himself." He was forced into War by Circumstances not to be controlled or resisted; and by Circumstances equally uncontrollable and

irresistible, he was compelled to make every effort, compromises and concessions included, to restore the country to peace.

In 1803 the conduct of Scindiah and the Rajah of Berar rendered war inevitable; in 1804 the excesses of Holkar again compelled us to take the field; but in 1805, though we had still wrongs to redress, and insults to chastise, the exhausted state of the Company's treasury, and the host of evils which these wars had entailed upon the country, rendered it necessary that, even at some loss of national dignity, peace should be speedily restored. And when Lord Cornwallis arrived in India, the paramount object of Lord Wellesley's desires, the chief subject of his thoughts, and the main occasion of his labors, was the speedy re-establishment of Peace, and the restoration of the financial prosperity of the empire.

That Cornwallis, armed with specific instructions from home, having no parental interest in the condition of affairs that had arisen in Central India, and regarding the men to whom the conduct of our military and political affairs had been entrusted as mere abstractions, may have set about the work before him in a more resolute and uncompromising manner than if he had himself been concerned in the measures, and associated with the personal agency to which this state of things was in no small degree to be attributed, is hardly to be doubted. But the policy which he intended to pursue differed but little in its essential features from that which Wellesley himself would, at this time, have adopted.

The two statesmen were for some days both resident in Calcutta. During that interval, Sir George Barlow, who was the link between them, drew up an elaborate paper on our relations with the States of the North-West, in which past events were recited, and prospective measures were mapped out for the guidance of Lord Cornwallis. It was intended to embody the views of Lord Wellesley, as modified by the circumstances in which Government were then placed, and was submitted to him for approval. A single sentence, not affecting the general tenor of the document, was inserted by the retiring Governor-General, who then declared that it fairly represented his opinions. There was, indeed, but little antagonism between the sentiments of the two statesmen. Both recognised a necessity against which it was impossible to contend; but it fell to Cornwallis to commence the execution of those measures which, under other circumstances, neither might have willingly initiated, but which in the conjuncture that had then arisen, seemed equally inevitable to both.

It need hardly be said, that in Lord Lake's camp these measures were grievously unpopular. Every military and political officer on the banks of the Jumna cried out loudly against them. And Charles Metcalfe, earnest among the earnest in his disapprobation of the new system, or no-system which was now to be enforced, could hardly bring himself to believe that the Governor-General was not somewhat of a bigot, wedded indissolubly to his own theories, and utterly regardless of the opinions of

all the experienced practical men in the country. Before Lord Cornwallis had been more than a month in India, the young diplomatist entered into a critical examination of the venerable nobleman's conduct. The letters which he wrote at this time forcibly express not only his own views of North-Western Politics, but those of the Party to which he belonged:

CHARLES METCALFE TO J. W. SHERER.

"Camp, Muttra, August 31, 1805.

"My dear Sherer,—Your silence has lasted very long. I have been particularly anxious to know your sentiments upon the change which the arrival of Lord Cornwallis has produced. It is very probable that I look upon things in a wrong light, but I confess my opinion is, that as far as I am able to see, all the acts of Lord Cornwallis since his arrival have been deficient in wisdom; and I believe that it may prove to be a great misfortune that his Majesty's Ministers or the Imperial Directors should have selected for the government of this country a man of experience and knowledge. . . . Had the genius of our country led the choice to a man of judgment, who had not before been in India, he would certainly have applied for information to those persons who might be supposed the most capable of giving it, and, whatever might have been his decision, after he had collected his knowledge, it would, we may suppose, have been the result of unprejudiced deliberation.

"Lord Cornwallis's manner and substance of speech are precisely the same now as they were on the first day of his arrival. There is some immoveable notion in his head. Has Lord Cornwallis sought information from any man who was likely to give it? If he has not you will, I think, agree with me that he has been wanting in his duty, and that such self-sufficient importance may be injurious to the public interests. I should suppose that the persons whose opinions upon the political state

of India would be useful for the consideration of a Governor-General would be Lord Wellesley, Lord Lake, Sir G. Barlow, Lumsden, Edmonstone, Colonel Close, Colonel Malcolm, Mr. Webbe (if he had lived), Colonel Gerard, and Mercer (these two have had opportunities of acquiring great local knowledge, and have in person seen what the nature of our situation in Hindostan is, and what is the extent of difficulty and danger in pursuing one course, and may form a judgment of the probable effects of another). If these are not the persons whose opinions are to be estimated, the political management of India must have been wretchedly conducted for the last seven years. But Lord Cornwallis knows better than all these. Surely Lord C. might suppose that a great change having taken place since he was in the Government before, his knowledge of the present state of affairs might be improved by communications with others. 'No,' he says, 'I know best, and what I say must be right.'

"All our communications are, of course, most confidential, and I will mention one of Lord C.'s remarks, which shows his own character. He says, 'There is a general frenzy for conquest and victory even in those heads which I had believed to be the soundest.' Setting aside that this sweeping observation is false and unfounded, as the records of the Government will prove, let us observe the nature of it. He agrees that the wisdom or necessity of a particular course of policy, which he is pleased deliberately to term a frenzy, is strongly impressed upon those heads which he had believed to be the soundest. Respect for the judgment of those men would have led common characters to examine into the causes of such a prevailing conviction, and would have induced them to suspect that such an universal effect might have some good cause which it would be right to search for. But this man has a head so very sound, that the only thought that arises in his mind is that there is not a sound head in India. He proves either that he is no judge of heads, or that he disagrees with the soundest heads. I believe there is no soul who does not heartily wish for peace, but it

would surely be unwise to purchase a temporary peace by concessions.

"I believe that affairs would be immediately settled with Scindiah if the armies were advanced; and I believe that Holkar could not survive long. They have had frequent disputes lately. A settlement with Holkar does not appear practicable until he is quite reduced; unless it is intended to grant him such concessions as shall establish him into a mighty power; and if this is done it will not be long before we repent of it. At one period he was very nearly extinguished. His junction with Scindiah has revived his power in a small degree; but he is very much reduced. It will be melancholy to see the work of our brave armies undone, and left to be done over again. I hope for the best from Lord C.'s administration; but I am, I confess, without confidence. It is surely unwise to fetter the hands of the Commander-in-Chief, and to stop all operations until his own arrival. We shall have Holkar near us in a few days. I wish you would send us money.

"Yours affectionately,

"C. T. METCALFE."

In the last words of this letter there was mighty significance—"I wish you would send us money." Unhappily, there was no money to send. This was the only circumstance that weakened the force of Charles Metcalfe's arguments. But it was a practical answer of such cogency and comprehensiveness, that it rendered all else superfluous. Sherer, who was then in the Finance department of the Administration, must have smiled sorrowfully at the utterance of such a wish in such a crisis.

In the abstract, as I have said, the young writer's arguments in favor of the forward movement of the

army are sound; but there is an unconscious want of justice in some of the reflections on the character and conduct of Lord Cornwallis. During the short time that this venerable nobleman was capable of attending personally to the affairs of the empire, he exhibited a marked respect for the opinions of the eminent men with whom he was immediately associated—Barlow, Lumsden, and Edmonstone. With the first he had been in continual correspondence ever since he had quitted India in 1793; and, in the last, who, as Political Secretary, accompanied him on his fatal excursion to the Upper Provinces, he placed confidence without stint. These were his legitimate advisers, and they were his best; for they were acquainted with the state of all the departments of Government, with all the springs and wires of that great complex machine. The time had not yet come for him to take counsel with Lake and Malcolm; but he was on his way to the Upper Provinces to meet them. It was not their business to decide whether there should be Peace or War—but Peace or War once decided upon, how it was most expediently to be made. And on these points Lord Cornwallis determined that he could best take counsel with them on the spot.

Three weeks after the despatch of the above letter, the young diplomatist wrote in somewhat better spirits of the prospects before him. "The army," he said, "is ordered to assemble. *We want money only.* Holkar talks of visiting Delhi again. His motions have neither been active nor menacing as

yet. There is, I think, no prospect of Scindiah presuming actually to contend with us, if we are disposed to forgive him all his past sins; but I make no doubt that he will regulate his conduct in the way that will be suited best in his opinion to induce us to purchase his good-will by concessions; and I am sorry to say that the political conduct of our Government for the last year is likely to encourage a hope in him that an appearance of an intention to aid Holkar may succeed." And, doubtless, there was much truth in this. The recent bearing of Lord Wellesley towards Scindiah had been conciliatory in the extreme. Eager to avoid an open rupture, he had overlooked some grievous insults and offences, had accepted unsatisfactory explanations of indefensible acts, and by such concessions had plainly indicated to the restless chief that we were eager, almost at any cost, to restrain him from flinging himself into the arms of Holkar. When Lord Cornwallis arrived in India, he wrote to the Home Government, that he had found the Company at war with Holkar, and scarcely at peace with Scindiah. This, indeed, was the true condition of affairs. The latter chief was oscillating between the state of a treacherous, presumptuous ally, and an open, defiant enemy. I shall speak presently of his conduct more in detail. But first, it is desirable to show what was the position of Holkar at this time, and what the course we were pursuing towards him. Both may be gathered from the following letter, maintaining the arguments of the Lake-and-Malcolm school against his financial opponent:

"September 28, 1805.

"My dear Sherer,— . . . I will go over in order the different parts of your letter, but I do not presume to answer them satisfactorily. In respect to the war with Holkar, a firm conviction of its unavoidable necessity has always superseded in my mind every question regarding its policy. Holkar's conduct and language evinced, I think, a firm determination to attack us or our allies. His restless and ambitious disposition made it certain that he would attack somebody, and that he would not disband his large army, which has been considerably increased by chiefs and troops, who had been compelled at the peace to quit the service of Scindiah and Bhoonsla, and the necessity of maintaining his army demanded that he should lead it to plunder somewhere. The most likely countries for him to attack, were those occupied in Hindostan by the British Government and its allies; for the Deccan was a scene of dreadful famine; Malwa was nearly as bad. He said that he would attack the British Government and its allies, and as many circumstances connected with the state of India rendered it probable, there was, I think, no cause to disbelieve him. The least that can be said is, that you had no security from him that he would not, and he would not even disguise his intentions. Under such circumstances, it appears to me that every preparation for a war with Holkar was absolutely necessary; that a war was to be expected—indeed, not to be avoided; and the only question was whether it was wise to make it offensive or defensive.

"A defensive system necessarily included the defence of our allies. In these were included Scindiah's state and the Jypore, Macherry, and Bhurtpore countries. These smaller alliances are alluded to in another part of your letter, and will be considered in their turn. The defence of these alliances under Holkar's menacing situation, required that another force should be maintained in Malwa for the defence of Scindiah's possessions. Thus far, an offensive and defensive system would

agree, but it remains to be determined whether it was wiser to halt in that position, or to convert the military force which would be necessarily assembled for defensive purposes against Holkar, into the instruments of reducing his power and resources, dispersing his large army, destroying the impression of fear which was attached to the sound of his name, encouraging our allies, dispiriting our enemies, and compelling Holkar to lower his lofty projects. I prefer the offensive system, and my reasons are these. It afforded a better prospect of rendering the war short; it tended to confirm the impression of our energy and power, and to show that the much-dreaded Holkar was no object of fear to us; it gave a more probable chance of reducing Holkar to moderate views than would have been given to defensive measures; the destruction of Holkar entirely might be expected. A defensive system incurs nearly the same expense, by requiring the same armies to be maintained completely equipped in the field; it would be more difficult to defend countries from the predatory incursions of horse, than it would be to strike an effectual blow at the heart of Holkar's power by an attack upon his artillery and country; a defensive system was not so well suited to the superior character which it was the policy of the British Government to maintain. Measures of defence only might prolong the war to a very distant period, might encourage all adventurers to join Holkar, and thereby increase the difficulties of defence and the number of enemies; and if, as I firmly believe would have been the case, we should have proved inadequate to the complete performance of our promises of protection, our protection would be slighted, our influence and power diminished, our character, upon which we stand as a firm rock, disgraced; and the influence, power, and character of our enemy proportionately increased. We have now come as far as the determination to carry on offensive hostilities, and here I will stop.

"The conduct of war is a separate question from its policy. It does not follow that it was unwise because it was unfortunate in its course. A different conduct would have prevented the

evils which happened. This, too, is a question upon which I shall trouble you with my notions in some future epistle. I must also postpone my intention of going at length into the other observations of your letter. With respect to the alliances with the petty states, I shall observe *en passant* (as old Gil used to say), that in my opinion they might be made highly advantageous. These states in Hindostan, under our protection, would form an excellent frontier to our North-Western possessions, by throwing back the Mahrattas to a great distance from our fertile provinces. The countries of these states are not in themselves so tempting as our territories are, and incursions into them would not be made perhaps without designs upon our country. Such a frontier, extending in most places above 100 miles, would be very great strength to us. I do not see the same inconvenience which you do of interference in their broils; I am more inclined to believe that the effect of our established influence would put an end to all their broils, and diffuse universal tranquillity; and if this system is not destroyed, I look forward in sanguine hope to this blessed end, the inestimable gift of Great Britain to India, and the proudest monument of our glory.

"With respect to the irruptions of the Sikhs and northern hordes, they are not, I think, to be expected except in a case like the present, when we are engaged in a harassing war in India. The North-Western countries are an impassable barrier, a dry, sandy desert; the territory through which the Sikhs advance is a short space easily defended. Unless the Tartars come tumbling from the hills, we may be tranquil on our northern frontier. The inhabitants of these provinces may be governed, I think, without difficulty; they appear to me to lament the existence of war as much as men can do. Even the Rohillas can be tamed, and I trust will be. The expected advantages from the small alliances have never yet been realised; they are still in prospect; perhaps the new Government will abandon them; and there is an end of my vision. I am ashamed to express my opinions, when they are opposite to

yours, in so useless a way; but I am not able to enter largely on all subjects to-day, for which you cannot, I think, be sorry; if you have not had enough, I will say more at another time.

"Let us now take one look at the present situation of affairs. Holkar and Meer Khan have advanced to our country west of Delhi, *i. e.* the districts of Kamoon, Narnal, Reeraree, &c., where there is at present no force to meet them. That they would do this was not unforeseen, and in the month of July Lord Lake sent a proposal to Government to station a very considerable force in those districts, in order to prevent the approach of the enemy by that route. Lord Cornwallis received this letter, never replied to it, but, when he put himself into his boat, issued orders to Lord Lake to prohibit his advancing any detachments or making any other movements until his arrival on the Jumna. At the same time, and since, repeatedly was stated the want of money; no means were taken to supply the army; it is true that twenty lakhs were sent up from Calcutta, but it was well known that a certain time was required for it to reach Muttra, and some measures of raising money, which would not have been difficult in these provinces, ought surely to have been adopted. None were; and now Lord Lake cannot move, with the enemy in our country. Every exertion is now made to get money, and we shall get enough in a few days to set us off with some force; but in consequence of this misconduct, there will, perhaps, be once more an important risk.

"There is a misery in seeing evils which might easily have been prevented, which sometimes makes me wish myself out of the busy scene.

"My father informs me that he lost the situation of Deputy-Chairman this year because the majority of the Directors did not choose to join the active friend of Lord Wellesley to Mr. Grant (Chairman), his inveterate enemy. My father expresses his happiness at the conduct which he has pursued throughout and everywhere with regard to Lord W. I am very happy at it; and there is so violent a current against his administration,

and such a desertion on the part of those who might have been expected to defend him, that I am disposed to believe that Lord W. will be well pleased with my father's support.

"I have taken up a great deal of your time. Who is to be Accountant-General? God bless you, my dear Sherer; remember me to Bayley, Fagan, and all friends.

"Believe me, ever your affectionate friend,

"C. T. METCALFE."

This letter was written from Muttra. A division of Lord Lake's army had been awaiting there the breaking up of the Monsoon. The commencement of such further operations, as in those days of ministerial change might be sanctioned by the Supreme Government, could not be entered upon until the end of the rainy season, and that looked-for time had now arrived. The difficulties which met us at every turn had not diminished since our armies were lost in the field. Neither our arms nor our diplomacy had achieved more than temporary successes. We had entered into treaties of everlasting friendship only to see them violated in a few months, and we had utterly broken and dispersed the armies of our enemies only to see them reunited and reorganised within a still smaller space of time. The treachery of the Mahratta chiefs was as remarkable as their elasticity. We could not bind by the most solemn engagements men who were without faith and without shame; and we could not break down a power that presented to us no fixed and permanent point of attack, that dissolved itself before us when danger threatened, and then by that rapid process of reintegration which is unknown to regular armies, ap-

peared again in another part of the country, little weakened by the reverses it had sustained.

The treaty into which we had entered with Dowlut Rao Scindiah was distinguished by the moderate character of the terms we had imposed upon him, and it was believed that after the proof we had afforded of our military prowess he would recognise the expediency of observing it. But wrought upon, as I have already said, by an infamous minister, he had been guilty of repeated violations of the treaty, and shown a disposition to co-operate with any state but the one he had pledged himself to assist. Instead of aiding us to control the excesses of Holkar, he had exerted himself to encourage them. He received with favor the agent of that chief. He publicly corresponded with Ameer Khan, and even bethought himself of taking into his service the mercenary Rohilla—one of the most implacable of our enemies as he was, and the levies under his command. He impeded our letter-carriers and couriers. He enlisted large bodies of Pindarrees, and plundered the border country of the Peishwah. He kept himself in a warlike attitude in the field—now appearing in one place, now in another, and, in spite of repeated promises to return to his capital, continued by these threatening movements to encourage our enemies and to unhinge the resolution of our friends. And there was very little doubt in the mind of the British Resident that he was prepared to unite himself openly with Holkar, and take the field against us in the event of a protracted contest with that chief.

In vain did Mr. Jenkins,* then a young man of high promise—one of those early statesmen who, reared in the great political hothouse of Lord Wellesley's office, had anticipated the ripening action of time—protest against these violations of the treaty, these palpable indications of a hostile spirit, at the Court of Dowlut Rao Scindiah. In vain did he demand the dismissal of the unprincipled minister who had been the real mover of all these acts of hostility. Feeble and infatuated, the Mahratta chief made promises which he had not the courage to fulfil, whilst his minister, emboldened by impunity, proceeded to new acts of outrage, and at last instigated a body of Pindarrees to attack the camp of the British Resident. Redress was promised, but was not given. The evil influence of Ghautka was paramount at Scindiah's Court. Everything was tending rapidly to a crisis when it was precipitated by the determination of the misguided chief, in spite of the treaty which bound him to abstain from all such measures, to march down upon Saugor, in the Peishwah's dominions, and to recruit his exhausted treasury by levying contributions upon it. This was tantamount to a declaration of hostility, and Mr. Jenkins, therefore, believing that the national honor would be compromised by his longer continuance at Scindiah's Court, announced his intention of withdrawing the Mission. But Scindiah, apprehending that as the departure of Colonel Collins had been attended with such disastrous results,

* Mr. Jenkins, upon the death of Mr. Webbe, had succeeded that gentleman as Resident at Scindiah's Court.

similar acts of retribution might follow the departure of Mr. Jenkins, forbade the British minister to quit the Mahratta camp.

This was in the spring of 1805. Holkar, it was supposed, was then at his last gasp. This, in some measure, seemed to lessen the difficulties of our position; but it caused a curious state of doubt and incertitude as to the future to arise in the Calcutta Council Chamber. Whether in this conjuncture we should endeavor to propitiate Scindiah or Holkar, sacrifieing the other to our just vengeance, was the question that now divided the councils of the Supreme Government. Sir George Barlow proposed that we should enter into a treaty, offensive and defensive, with Holkar; that the two armies, jointly or separately, should attack Scindiah at all vulnerable points; and that, having conquered him, we should hand over to Holkar as much of his territory as might be covcted by that chief. Lord Wellesley, on the other hand, conceived that it would be expedient to reason with Scindiah on the impropriety of his conduct; to send a British minister of high rank to his court; to enter into a new alliance with him; and to deliver over to him part of the territories of Holkar. The conduct of the two chiefs had justified the adoption of either course. It was a mere question of expediency whether Scindiah or Holkar should be the immediate victim of our righteous displeasure.

The opinions of the Governor-General were necessarily those which shaped the subsequent measures of Government. Every possible precaution was taken to avoid an open rupture with Dowlut Rao

Scindiah; every possible effort was made to conciliate the offending chief. He was told that his explanations were accepted; that he would not be called upon to make any restitution for the Residency property that he had plundered; that Colonel Malcolm or Mr. Mercer (or both), the highest political officers in the country, would be sent to his Court to aid him in settling his government, and to deliver over to him portions of Holkar's territory; and that it was not the intention of the British Government to commit any act of hostility whatever against his Highness's troops and possessions.* But in spite of these pacific demonstrations, and in spite of Scindiah's promises, the spring passed away, and the summer passed away, and still Jenkins was not released.

Lord Wellesley, who, in the month of May, had been made aware of the fact not only that his reign was nearly at an end, but that Lord Cornwallis was to be his successor, would, under any circumstances, have hesitated to commit the new Governor-General to important measures which the latter might be unwilling to carry out to their conclusion. But it was the season when active operations are for the most part suspended—when warlike movements on a large scale are difficult, if not impossible—and, therefore, partly of necessity and partly of design, the settlement of our uncertain relations with Scindiah was postponed; whilst Lord Lake's army was cantoned among the ruined mausolea and de-

* MS. Memoranda of Lord Wellesley. Letter of Governor-General to Dowlut Rao Scindiah, May 26, 1805.—[*MS. Records.*]

caying palaces of Muttra, Agra, and Secundra. But in the month of July, when the war-season approached, Lord Lake, from the first of these three places, addressed a letter to Scindiah, calling upon him to release the British Resident, and to afford him safe conduct to our camp, or to be prepared on the breaking up of the Monsoon to see the British army advancing against him. This language from one who had shown that words from him were speedily followed by blows, produced the desired effect. Scindiah had begun to discern that more was to be gained from the friendship than from the enmity of the British Government; and so Mr. Jenkins was released, and sent in safety to the British frontier.

In the mean while, Holkar, who had lost none of his old energy or his old elasticity, was recovering from the effects of his late discomfiture. He had, indeed, nothing more to lose. He was reduced to the state of a mere soldier of fortune; and carried, as he said, all his possessions on the saddle of his horse. But that dominion of the saddle was still formidable. It was in the very nature of things that Upper India should be swarming with desperate adventurers—the scattered fragments of all the armies we had beaten in the field—eager to reunite again under some common standard. So it was not long before Holkar, attended by Ameer Khan as his lieutenant, had raised a considerable army, and collected a large number of guns. With these he marched towards the Sutlej. He had opened a correspondence with the Sikh chiefs, and he believed

that they would unite themselves with him. It was a combination which promised great results; and already the turbulent Mahratta saw himself at the head of an immense body of predatory horse, streaming from the country of the five countries, plundering the fairest regions of Northern India, and carrying everything before him in his desolating career.

But these visions were destined soon to yield to the pressure of waking realities of a far more sombre complexion. Holkar had men with arms and horses; and he had an imposing train of artillery;* but he had no money to subsist them. He was even poorer than we were ourselves; and we were in a melancholy state of pecuniary destitution. Wherever he went, his poverty compelled him to make enemies for himself, by demanding money or plundering the country. In the Cis-Sutlej Sikh States he exerted himself especially to obtain the assistance of the Rajah of Puteealah, from whom he demanded two lakhs of rupees; but by this time, Lake had set his divisions in motion. General Dowdeswell, with a force of all arms, was ordered forward to Saharunpore, from which advanced position he could defend the Doab, and open communications with the Sikh chiefs. With Dowdeswell's division went Charles Metcalfe, as Political Agent. The service was the same as that which he had rendered in the spring of the year with the division of General Smith, that had gone in pursuit of Ameer Khan

* It was that, indeed, and nothing more. I believe that it was a mere imposition, for most of the guns were unserviceable.

into Rohilcund; and the position, which was one of independence and responsibility, was peculiarly pleasing to him.*

There was fine weather, a fine country, an exciting adventure, and plenty of work. Young Metcalfe was in good health and good spirits. It was his business now to conduct, in the General's name, an important correspondence with the Sikh chiefs; to detach them from an alliance with Holkar, if they had formed one; and to deter them if they had not. Of these the Rajah of Puteealah was the most important. The letter which Metcalfe addressed to him, with the Rajah's answer, may be given in translation, as an illustration of the work in which the young diplomatist was engaged, and a not unamusing specimen of the diplomatic correspondence of the East:

TO RAJAH SAHIB SINGH OF PUTEEALAH.

"I have heard of your many good qualities, and have become anxious for your acquaintance. The reports of your enemies state that you have joined the cause of Holkar, and have consequently placed yourself in the situation of an enemy to the British Government. I cannot believe that you would act in a manner so adverse to your true interests.

"The power of the British Government is known to the whole world. It is terrible to its enemies and a sure protection

* Sir Theophilus Metcalfe called this "nursing King's officers;" and in his letters to his son rather made light of the employment. But it was, and has been ever since, the most important duty that can be entrusted to a young man of ability acquainted with the languages, the habits, and the political condition of the people in whose country our armies are moving. These "nurses" have since come to be called "politicals." Half a century ago, when Charles Metcalfe "nursed" Generals Smith and Dowdeswell, the employment was a new one. He was, indeed, almost the first of the race.

to its friends. Holkar is a fugitive, and has fled from Hindostan to the country of the Sikhs, from dread of the British troops. Wherever he goes he brings destruction on those who assist him. Whilst he remains in your country, he destroys your crops and plunders the inhabitants. It is not consistent with your famed wisdom to associate yourself with such a man. Convinced that the reports which I have heard are false, I write to you, in a friendly manner, to inform you that I am advancing with a large army of infantry, cavalry, and artillery, and that I shall in three or four days arrive at the banks of the Jumna. If you act openly against the enemy, you may depend upon assistance from the British Government. The Government regards the Sikh chiefs as friends, and has no intention of interfering in their concerns. Its sole object is to defeat the hostile designs of Holkar. Whoever joins the desperate fortunes of that freebooter must expect to draw upon himself the vengeance of the British Government; and whoever acts against him will be rewarded with great kindness. Attack the enemy, and your interests will undoubtedly be promoted. If you have any communications to make, I shall be happy to receive a confidential person from you. Make me happy by the transmission of friendly letters, with accounts of your welfare."

FROM RAJAH SAHIB SINGH TO MAJOR-GENERAL DOWDESWELL.

[" *Despatched at night immediately on the receipt of your letter.*]

[After compliments]—" I have had the honor of receiving your friendly letter. . . . . I have derived great happiness, confidence, and satisfaction from the perusal of it. The case is, that since the bright sun of British rule has enlightened the countries of Hindostan, I have sincerely and faithfully fulfilled the duties of submission and attachment to the Government, and have preserved the relations of friendship and good-will with its officers, with whom I have always held, and now hold, a friendly correspondence.

"In no instance has our friendship been interrupted. God is my witness! From the time when my heart first received the impression of attachments to the Government, the impression has always increased, and is not to be erased.

"When Holkar, suddenly flying with fear from the victorious armies of the British Government, brought his ill-boding train into the country, and sought my assistance and alliance, preserving in its purity my faith and friendship to the British Government, I paid no attention to him whatever. When the plundering oppressor fixed his camp of wretchedness between Puteealah and Syfabad, it was suggested to me that my enemies would perhaps join him and procure success to their designs, and I was persuaded that the necessity of the time made it advisable to keep up an outward intercourse with him. From necessity I submitted to one or two conferences. Still, however, notwithstanding my apparent good-will, the rascal did not refrain from plundering and destroying my country, which he has made a desert. I at one time hoped by his means to punish my enemies; but this, also, was not brought about. The wretch, whose profession and livelihood is plunder, has marched to plunder towards the Sutlej. I have no asylum but in the British Government, to which I shall ever look up. From it I shall always, I know, derive protection and prosperity. I feel great confidence from your near approach. May it be propitious. I have answered your kind letter in haste. I shall immediately despatch a person in my confidence."

The sincerity of all this may be doubted. Had Holkar's prospect of success appeared, in the eyes of the Sikh chiefs, to have sufficient encouragement in it, it is not improbable that they would have united themselves with that desperate freebooter, and taken part in the proposed incursion. But the Mahratta appeared before them as a fugitive and a mendicant. The British troops were pressing for-

ward in pursuit of him. On both banks of the Sutlej the Sikhs regarded our advance with lively apprehensions, and were eager to see the battalions, both of Holkar and the Feringhees, on their way back to Central India. Both armies, before the close of the year, were encamped in the Punjab. On the 9th of December the British army was posted on the banks of the Hyphasis, opposite to Rajpoor Ghaut, and were gladdened by the sight of the noble scenery which opened out bewitchingly before them.* Holkar had marched to Umritsur, and taken up his position there, in the heart of the Sikh country, relying upon assistance that was never afforded to him. The promptitude of Lake's advance had cut off from the fugitive Mahratta all hopes of such coadjutancy. Thus, feeble and alone, he saw that resistance was useless. There was nothing, indeed, left for him but to obtain the friendly offices of the Sikhs to bring about an amicable arrangement with the dominant state which he had so injured and insulted. It was whilst affairs were in this condition, the army still halting upon the banks of the classic river, that Charles Metcalfe wrote the following letter:

* See Thorn's History of the Mahratta War. "In the extreme distance from north to east arose the snowy ridge of old Imaus. . . . . The fleecy softness of its faint and irregular outline appeared to great advantage, in resting upon immense masses of nearer elevations, whose rocky eminences in chaotic confusion were most beautifully contrasted with pine-clad hills, still closer to the view, and these again relieved to the eye by the prospect of a fine undulating country of hill and dale, covered with luxurious vegetation, and enlivened by numerous villages, temples, and ruins to the extent of thirty miles, bounded by the noble river which, flowing in majestic grandeur immediately before us, brought to our recollection that we were standing as it were on classic ground."

TO J. W. SHERER.

"Camp, Rajpoor-Ghaut, on the Berah or Hyphasis,
December 18, 1805.

"My dear Sherer,—I sent off yesterday a letter to our friend Bayley, to which, in order to avoid repetition, I refer you for an account of myself and my movements since I last wrote. From it you will perceive that I am exceedingly happy in my present situation, and wish nothing more than to remain in it. I see much novelty and variety, and my spirits are kept alive by the change. I was with General Dowdeswell's division of the army when I received yours of the 22nd October. I have taken my leave of the subject of Lord Cornwallis. Whatever may be my opinion of his designs, let it rest. I do not wish to assail his respected and respectable memory. His successor appears to have no fixed principles. His professed object is—and it must be granted that it would have been arduous if not impeachable for him to have entertained any other—to follow the plans of Lord Cornwallis; but he commenced his government with a modification of them which appeared to me to be wise, and to constitute an honorable system of administration, adapted to the state of affairs, calculated to promote the interest of our country, agreeable to the supposed policy of our rulers, reconcilable to Sir G. B.'s former conduct, and to the measures which had his full concurrence, and not deficient in spirit. Under this view of his outset, combined with my opinion of his knowledge of all our internal and external affairs, his integrity, and general character, I congratulated myself on the prospect of a just, honorable, prudent, and economical administration.

"Since my return to head-quarters a great change has taken place in my sentiments from the perusal of the Governor-General's despatches and instructions. There is a character pervading them which promises weakness and indecision, disgrace without recompense, treaties without security, the name of peace without tranquillity, and imaginary economy without

saving, the loss of power, influence, and character—in a word, the speedy renewal of universal disturbance and extensive war. This is all idle rant to you, whilst I cannot enter into a minute discussion of these *horrible* designs. One shocking proposition is, that we shall derive security from the dissensions of our neighbours; and a still more shocking system is founded upon it, which is intended, and must tend, to revive in Hindostan, in the Mahratta Empire, and on every quarter of our extensive frontier, all those quarrels, wars, and disturbances and depredations which are now nearly entirely crushed, and which might be for ever, I think, suppressed with much less difficulty than we shall be able to keep out of them when raised, and to preserve ourselves from the bad effects of their influence.

"Two objects I consider to be necessary for the security of tranquillity to us in Hindostan:—The reduction of Holkar to a state of impotence from which he shall not be able to raise himself (his destruction would be most desirable), and the maintenance of our alliances and paramount influence with the petty states of Hindostan. The latter question I have lately looked at more particularly than I before did, and every day increases in my mind the importance of those alliances. I know that you think differently. If you come up to Hindostan I should not despair of an alteration in your sentiments.

"I am much—very much obliged to you for your careful transmission of the pictures. I long to see them. The youngest of the boys has been dead it is now one year and a half.* He was called and taught to believe himself my favorite. The revival of his cherub features to my sight will be a melancholy pleasure. The enclosed is from Hufeez to his father, and he wishes it to be given without delay, as it contains an order on my agents for cash.

"On looking over my letter, I cannot help laughing at the positive and unsatisfactory manner in which I have given an opinion of the politics of our new Governor. In fact, whilst

* Henry Metcalfe, his youngest brother, died at school from the effects of an attack of measles.

the measures which I hate are in agitation, I am anxious and warm; let them be once executed, and I shall resign myself with patience and silence.

"Mention to me any new works of note that have appeared lately. I rejoice at Tucker's appointment on public grounds.* I hope that it does not interfere with your private prospects.

"I go on here as well as I wish. I have not been much troubled with business lately. What I do is under Malcolm, with whom I have always been on very good terms. I have not, however, any particular intimacy with him; and prefer to consider myself as distinct from his establishment. Cole has been ill, and is not yet strong. Few have withstood the late sickly season; I have, and I thank God for, the enjoyment of uninterrupted health and increasing strength.

"I am, my dear Sherer,

"Yours very affectionately,

"C. T. METCALFE."

On the day after this letter was written, an agent from the Lahore Government appeared in our camp charged with the office of mediator between Holkar and the British Government. On the following day arrived an emissary from Holkar himself to negotiate the terms of a treaty of Peace. There was no difficulty now in arranging a settlement of affairs. The Indian Government, under peremptory instructions from home, and utterly unable in the embarrassed state of their finances to prosecute another great war, were compelled to pacificate upon terms which, under other circumstances, they might have

* The appointment to the Accountant-Generalship of Henry St.George Tucker, whom, as the ablest financier in India, Sir G. Barlow had induced to leave the house of business with which he had connected himself, in order that, in the great crisis that had arisen, he might assume the direction of our pecuniary affairs.

regarded as derogatory to the character of a great nation. Concessions were made to Holkar which the Commander-in-Chief, and all his staff on the banks of the Hyphasis, declared to be disgraceful; but which the Governor-General* at Allahabad and the Accountant-General at Calcutta believed to be necessitated by the pressing exigencies of the times. At the same time, Scindiah, whose agent had been for some while in our camp, reaped his share of the benefits arising from the conciliatory spirit of the British Government. A treaty of peace was concluded with that Prince, by which most of the advantages conceded by the old treaty of Surjee Argenjaum, made by Arthur Wellesley, were secured to him, in addition to a pension of four lakhs of rupees; and he on his part undertook to grant an indemnification for the losses sustained by the British Resident, and engaged to dismiss the unprincipled Minister, Ghautka, who had been the real mover of all the outrages against the British Government, for ever from his councils. This treaty, the terms of which were subsequently rendered still more favorable to Scindiah, was ratified under a royal salute on Christmas-day. What Charles Metcalfe thought upon the subject will presently be seen.

In the mean while, Holkar's agent had returned to his master to take counsel with him relative to the terms offered by the British, and not until the beginning of the new year did he present himself

* Sir George Barlow, who, on the death of Lord Cornwallis early in October, had succeeded as provisional Governor-General to the chief seat in the Administration.

again in our camp. Then it appeared that Holkar was inclined to presume upon the pacific spirit of his adversaries, and to obtain better terms, if he could. But Lord Lake was not to be frightened or to be cajoled into further concessions. He declared that if the treaty were not signed within three days, he would at once cross the river, and move upon Holkar's camp. This threat had the desired effect. And on the 7th of January a treaty which restored large possessions to the man who, a little time before, had declared that he could carry his all on his saddle, was ratified with all due ceremony in the presence of several of the Sikh chiefs.

On the following day, attended by an escort of two battalions of sepoys, Charles Metcalfe, under instructions from Lord Lake, set out for the Mahratta camp. The visit of friendship was intended to give assurance to Holkar's people, who, weary of a war from which they derived but little, either in the shape of plunder or the shape of pay, could hardly bring themselves to believe that the peace they desired was at hand. He was received in full Durbar, with every mark of satisfaction and respect. There was but one gloomy face—one moody spirit in the conclave. Ameer Khan had reluctantly attended the meeting, and was now little inclined to do honor to the representative of the British Government. The scene in Holkar's Durbar-tent was an interesting one; but I need not describe it, for on his way back with the army, which broke ground immediately afterwards on its return to the provinces, Charles

Metcalfe related the circumstances of the interview in a letter to his friend Sherer:*

CHARLES METCALFE TO J. W. SHERER.

"Camp, Sirhind, January 26, 1806.

"MY DEAR SHERER,— . . . The peace with Holkar and our march from the Punjab are already known to you. Bayley or Jenkins will have told you that I have been in Holkar's camp. My visit to him was occasioned by his request that some gentleman might be sent to him, as a mark of friendship and confidence from the British Government. It was, indeed, necessary to give satisfaction to his people, who would not give credit to his proclamation of a peace. They considered it as a trick such as he had often before practised to raise their fallen hopes; and, consequently, the arrival of the mission which confirmed the fact was hailed with every demonstration of unbounded joy and rapture.

"The conduct of Holkar and his chiefs was equally expressive of the highest delight; and made my mission a very pleasing and happy business. My task was easy, being in its nature only to convey assurances of friendship. One subject only of discussion occurred, and that was attended with no difficulty. It was my duty to urge his immediate departure from the Punjab on his return to Malwa. I got from him a promise to move on the 13th, which he maintained, to my surprise. *Ek-chushm-oo-doula's*† appearance is very grave, his countenance expressive, his manners and conversation easy. He had not at all the appearance of the savage that we knew him to be. The same countenance, however, which was strongly expressive of joy when I saw him, would look very black under the influence of rage, or any dark passions. A little lap-dog was on his musnud—a strange playfellow for Holkar.

* See also Appendix A, for Metcalfe's official report.

† A nickname for Holkar, signifying One-Eyed.

The jewels on his neck were invaluably rich. With these exceptions, there was nothing extraordinary in his Durbar, which was just as might have been expected under the circumstances of his situation. All his chiefs were present. Ameer Khan is blackguard in his looks, and affected on the occasion of my reception to be particularly fierce, by rubbing his coat over with gunpowder, and assuming in every way the air of a common soldier. But for his proximity to Holkar, he would have passed for one ; indeed, I did not know that he was Ameer Khan. I consider his behaviour to have been affectation. He had the impudence to ask from me my name, which must have been known to him ; and his conduct was so evidently designed to bring himself into notice, that I felt a gratification in disappointing the unknown impudent; and answering plainly to his question, I turned from him and continued a good-humored conversation with Holkar and Bhao Bhaskur. I was better pleased that I did so when I learned his name, for he had on a late occasion behaved with egregious impertinence.

"I have been very much gratified with this accidental mission, because though of no importance it is a little distinction. Lord Lake has made use of it to say more in my favor than I have ever deserved in a despatch to the Governor-General. I shall have great satisfaction in discussing with you hereafter the conduct of Sir G. Barlow. I am anxious to hear your opinions and to explain to you mine. . . . . I think that you will agree with me in blaming the furious zeal for reduction which dismissed all the members of the Governor-General's office from appointments in the service, without any steps to make a recompense. The Governor-General will perhaps have reached Calcutta when this reaches you.

"Make my love to Jenkins and Bayley. I hope that I shall be with you in a very few months. What say you to my proposed trip to England, as mentioned to Butterworth? Let

me have the benefit of your advice on that subject. I shall be better pleased when you write more; but am now, and ever,

"Your very affectionate friend,

"C. T. METCALFE."

The Army was now on its way back to the British Provinces. It was a season of comparative leisure, which Charles Metcalfe turned to advantage by devoting more time to his private correspondence. The following letters have a double interest; for they treat largely of public affairs, and afford some glimpses of the personal character of the young writer:

FROM CHARLES METCALFE TO J. W. SHERER.

"Paneeput, February 12, 1806.

"MY DEAR SHERER,—I had the pleasure, a few days ago, of receiving your kind letter of the 17th ult. I am greatly indebted to you for its contents. It brought the latest intelligence of my brother that I have yet received; my last letters are dated in the early part of November. He continues, I am rejoiced to see, in every way happy and content. . . . I have been a very bad correspondent to my brother, and he complains against me in his last. He knows, however, that my idleness is not caused by want of affection. The passage which you transcribed* is, as you rightly judged, peculiarly gratifying to me. The difference in our habits which was acquired in our childhood, will probably stick to us, and it is possible that we may have different opinions on controversial points, as you may remember we used to have, but in fraternal affection and friendship Theophilus and I will ever have, I am sure, the same mind and spirit.

"We are moving on to Dihlee. Four battalions, with a body of 1200 horse (Skinners' Corps), will be left here (Panee-

* See *ante*, page 114, *note*.

put) under Colonel Burn. Another battalion is at Kurnal. We shall reach Dihlee in five days. That rascal, *our friend* Holkar, has been playing tricks; and by way of a specimen of what may be expected, has already violated the treaty in a *few* articles. From our pacific, mild, moderate, amiable character, Holkar may play as many tricks as he pleases, and we shall have the generous magnanimity of overlooking them. I am getting tired of Politics, and am not disposed to trouble you much more with them, or Sir George Barlow. We can discuss subjects fully *tête-à-tête*. You will, I dare say, be able to show me his merits in revenual, judicial, and financial administration since he has ascended the throne. I have been so situated as to see him only in one point of view, and he has not, in the light in which I have seen him, appeared to advantage. It may be the fault of my optics. But I cannot with temper see his incorrigible wantonness in wasting and throwing away our strength and influence. He has not yet actually done the mischief; and I wish that our guardian genius would convert his hard heart.

"Lord Lake has acted in a dignified and noble manner. He declares his sentiments in opposition to those of the Governor-General, and he urges every argument and fact which he hopes will induce him to alter his plans. Having done this, he is determined not to embarrass or counteract the views of the Government; and feeling that he cannot be a fit instrument for the execution of measures which he entirely disapproves, finding also that Sir G. B. does not know how to exercise his supreme authority without deviating from the respect due to Lord Lake's rank, situation, character, and services, his Lordship is resolved to resign all political powers and to confine his attention to military arrangements. His despatches are marked equally by proper respect and manly firmness. They show that he is attentive to what is due to Sir G. B., and to what is due to himself. Several great questions upon which the Governor-General had issued his instructions are now on

reference to him, and among others the Declaratory Articles done by Sir G. B. at Allahabad, and published (I by this day's post perceive) in the *Gazette*. These have not been forwarded to Scindiah.

"The whole treaty is now open to public discussion. I shall hope to know from you your own sentiments and those of the public on it. I have not time or room at present to say more than that I think the Declaratory Articles destroy the best, most honorable, and most advantageous part of the treaty, and substitute much mischief. Enough of this shocking business. Many thanks for your information concerning my box and its contents. The correspondence on the Mahratta war is the most valuable part of them, as a book of reference, and recollection, and *comparison*. If I should not immediately return to Calcutta I should wish you to send it to me. If my return is, as I expect, immediate, I will thank you to keep it for me.

I think with you, that the principle laid down for the retrenchments is good. As for individual feelings, they must suffer. I think, however, that the parsimony of the Government is too ostentatious in its display. As real, and full as noble, an economy might be practised without such an universal publication of it. It is as much held forth in the Most Secret and Important Instructions as in the public advertisements. In fact, it seems to be the ruling principle system and merit of the Administration. When such is the case (I hope I shall not be suspected of blaming sound economy in the observation), I will venture to observe that the Government will be deficient in greatness of spirit and honor.

"Of myself I know nothing more than that I am well and happy. I hope that you and Bayley, with Fagan, Adam, Grant, &c., are equally so. Make suitable and kind remembrance of me to all those friends, and believe me ever

"Your affectionate friend,

"C. T. METCALFE."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Camp, Dihlee, March 14, 1806.

"My dear Sherer,—I received yours of the 16th ult. a few days ago. I am extremely concerned that any expression in my letter should have conveyed the insinuation which you very justly reprobate. Such never existed in my mind; if it had, it would have caused to me very severe unhappiness. Believe me, Sherer, the confidence that I have in your friendship, and in the firmness and continuance of it, as long as I may be not quite unworthy, is a consoling pleasure to me in our separation. I look forward to finding you at our meeting the same kind, unaltered friend, that you used to be. Without this reliance I should be very wretched, for I consider the regard of respected friends as an inestimable blessing, and any diminution of it would be an insufferable affliction. Do not, therefore, think that I could ever mean to insinuate that distance of time or place could affect your sentiments. We are anxious about what we prize, and my anxiety to hear from you perhaps made me complain more than I had any right to do. Indeed, when I consider the incessant business which you go through, I ought to be grateful for every line that you bestow on me, but have no right to complain. It would be unconscionable, indeed, to expect that you should not in your leisure hours seek refreshment from harassing fatigues in those pursuits to which your mind is bent. Forgive my impatience.

"You speak of the variety and opportunity of improvement which occur in my situation. I feel the value of them, and look back over the whole time that I have spent in this manner with very great satisfaction. I have, however, I am sorry to confess, thrown away my opportunities of improvement. I have acquired habits of idleness and indifference. I am almost afraid I love wandering for its own sake, rather than for the knowledge which it might enable one to acquire. Works and ruins which would have made me mad with solitude formerly, operate with much diminished effect now. I know not whe-

ther it is that the repetition of novelty blunts the edge of curiosity, or that human art cannot produce much variety, but from some cause my curiosity is not so sharp and lively as it was. There is, however, something in this place to which the mind cannot be indifferent. The ruins of grandeur that extend for miles on every side, fill it with serious reflections. The palaces crumbling into dust, every one of which could tell many tales of royal virtue or tyrannical crime, of desperate ambition or depraved indolence, that have caused the accomplishment of the most important events, and yet have never reached the ear of history; the myriads of vast mausoleums, every one of which was intended to convey to futurity the deathless fame of its cold inhabitant, and all of which are passed by unknown and unnoticed, eclipsed by the grandeur of one or two which attract the traveller. These things cannot be looked at with indifference. The view at present before me from my tent contains the history of ages. We are about a mile from what we now call Dihlee. I have before me the magnificent tomb of Humaioon; the ruined fort where Shah Alum was deprived of sight; a ruined palace where another poor king was thrown out of a window (the very window is staring at me), and many other buildings of which my ignorance knows nothing, but which, doubtless, have had their share of blood and murder. I should like much to go over the history of India whilst here, but there is not a book in this army. The Commander-in-Chief does not patronise literature in his troops. 'D—— your writing, mind your fighting,' is his maxim—a maxim, too, the latter part of which he has taught by example as well as precept. If I were a poet . . . I could write something at this place in an elegiac strain about—

'The pomp of heraldry, the pride of power,' &c., &c.

The ground on which we are encamped was occupied by Holkar's army when it besieged Dihlee. The defence was one of the greatest and most important actions that has been performed, but the man whose exertions caused the success of it,

has met his reward from this encouraging Government in an unrecompensed dismissal from his office.* Speaking of Holkar, he has in true character made a point of breaking all the articles of the treaty that he has not had it in his power to fulfil. He is at present engaged in plundering the Sikhs. Be it said to his credit, that he plunders most those who befriended him. We are detained here until he chooses to march towards his own country. This is a happy state of Peace.

"What think you of the new policy of the Declaratory Articles to both treaties? It is, I suppose, the first time that a Government has found fault with its negotiators for getting too much. Holkar has fired a salute for the unthought-of gratuity of Tank Rampoora, &c., and is, of course, vastly pleased. He says, however, that we are great rascals, and not to be trusted. Nor, after the acts of this Administration, can we be trusted. But why do I constantly harp upon the character of our Government? I believe it is because I am daily compelled to feel that we are disgraced; and that Holkar is the prevailing power in Hindostan. On the conduct of Government with respect to the plunder of Jenkins's camp, I agree with you; and have talked on that subject with Malcolm. He once alleged a strange reason for not resenting it, that it and all other hostility was the act of Scindiah's Minister only, and not of Scindiah himself. Who is Scindiah separate from his Government? A foolish boy. Can we look to anything but the acts of his Government?

"I hope that you and Jenkins will become intimate, and I am sure that the more you know him the more you will esteem him. I wish that Government would provide for him in a handsome way. I wrote to him some days ago. I have been looking in vain for a letter from Bayley for a very long time. Make my salaam to him and Jenkins, Fagan, Adam, Trant, &c.

"Cole and the sporting ones of this quarter are on a hog-hunting party. All the riding that I have had has not given

* Colonel Ochterlony, who had been removed from the office of Resident at Delhi to make room for Mr. Seton.

me a grain more of enterprise on horseback than I used to have, so I enter no more into those dashing amusements than formerly. What proceeds perhaps from timidity is put down to the score of gravity, and as there is not a soul here whose pursuits are like mine, my want of vivacity is generally pitied. . . . Believe me, my dear Sherer,

"Your affectionate friend,

"C. T. METCALFE."

The war was now at an end. The Grand Army was to be broken up. Charles Metcalfe's occupation as the nurse of Queen's officers was gone; and he soon ceased to disquiet himself about the inglorious Peace on which in the foregoing letters he had so earnestly descanted. As I have already said, it is not my province in this work to enter minutely into the circumstances of the Mahratta war, or to investigate the public conduct of one Governor-General or another. In the years 1805–1806, political controversy rose to a higher pitch of excitement than it had ever risen before, or than it has ever risen since in Indian official circles. Men spoke and wrote in those days eagerly and emphatically, according to the light that was in them; and it is not for us, after the lapse of half a century, to condemn them for that one-sidedness which is apparent in all their arguments. The Lake party were right at Muttra and Delhi. The Barlow party were right at Calcutta. The views of both parties were tinged by local and incidental circumstances. If Barlow had commanded the Army, he would, probably, have been as eager for the prosecution of the war as Lake, if he had been at the head of the Administra-

tion, and immediately responsible to the Home Government, would have been for its cessation. And I do not doubt that Charles Metcalfe, if he had been Accountant-General, would have written just such letters as flowed from the pen of Henry St.George Tucker.*

But, in all such cases as this, where there is a great conflict of opinion regarding the measures of Government or the conduct of men in authority, it is incumbent on the historian primarily to consider with whom the *responsibility* rested. Now, the responsibility of war-making or of peace-making in 1805-6, did not rest with Lord Lake, but with Sir George Barlow. We certainly had not found by experience that it was easy to crush either Scindiah or Holkar; but we had found that our efforts to crush them had thrown the Finances of India into such a state of embarrassment, that it was absolutely impossible to maintain the military expenditure on its existing scale. There was no money in the Treasury; our loans were unproductive; we had already anticipated the powers of investment possessed both by European and native capitalists. The cry from Lord Lake's camp was, "A little more money—and one more blow at the enemy." And all the argu-

* The correspondence between Mr. Tucker and Sir G. Barlow in the years 1805 and 1806, recently published in the Memoirs of the former, very fairly reflects the views of the Peace party. From that correspondence, and from Metcalfe's letters given in this chapter, a just conception may be derived of the antagonistic arguments of the Soldiers and the Financiers. As I am not writing a History of India, or even of the Mahratta War, I publish these letters as I published Mr. Tucker's correspondence, mainly as illustrations of the personal character and career of the man. The few remarks which I have made upon the subject in the text are of a very general nature. It is probable that on a future occasion I may have to treat of it more in detail.

ments in favor of the continuance of the war were based upon the hypothesis, that a little more money and one more vigorous blow would have brought it to a close. If Sir George Barlow could have indulged such a conviction as this, he might, perhaps, have authorised a last brief and decisive campaign. But there was nothing to give vitality to such a conviction. The success of such a movement was, at least, uncertain. The exhaustion of the Treasury and the orders of the Home Government were *not*. The responsibility of neglecting such a warning as was afforded by the one, or disregarding such a duty as was suggested by the other, was exclusively his—and it was a tremendous responsibility which he did not think it his duty to incur.* He, therefore, determined to make peace upon such terms as the enemy were not likely to reject. It is right that history should take account of this; but it is not strange that in the excitement of Lord Lake's camp its significance should, for a time, have been overlooked. Many years afterwards, Charles Metcalfe, looking back with other eyes on the events of 1805-6, and seeing much that was then concealed

* It appears to me that Sir George Barlow states the case very fairly in the following sentences which I find in the rough draft of a letter to Lord Lake:—"I wish his Lordship to understand that I offer these sentiments only as my opinion, and by no means as a decision against the correctness of his Lordship's judgment, which may be right. But as I am personally and exclusively responsible to the East India Company and to my country for the terms of the pacification, I am persuaded that his Lordship's candor and liberality will satisfy him that I have only discharged my duty to the public and to myself by adhering to my own opinion. If I had adopted his Lordship's sentiments in opposition to my own opinion, and if an early interruption of the peace were to follow, his Lordship will be sensible that my urging that I had conformed to his advice in preference to being guided by my own judgment, would be no justification whatever of my conduct."

from him, admitted that the measures adopted by Sir George Barlow were necessitated by the exigencies of the Financial crisis; and that however objectionable in themselves, and however mischievous in their results, it was hardly possible, under the circumstances which then existed, to have followed any other course.

CHAPTER VII.

[1806—1808.]

THE DELHI ASSISTANTSHIP.

Charles Metcalfe's Prospects—His Visit to Calcutta—Appointed Assistant to the Resident at Delhi—Administration of the Delhi Territory—The People and the Court—Character of Mr. Seton—Charles Metcalfe's Duties—Letters to Mr. Sherer—Pecuniary Circumstances—Better Prospects.

It has been stated that Charles Metcalfe, when he joined the Camp of the Commander-in-Chief, still retained his situation as an Assistant in the Office of the Governor-General. But among other retrenchments which had now been effected by the new Administration was the abolition of the "Office." This, although it entailed upon him a considerable loss of salary, Metcalfe scarcely regretted. Without Lord Wellesley and his old associates, who were now scattered over the country, the "Office" would have been nothing to him. What his prospects were at this time it was hard to say. The orders of Government were, that he should remain with Lord Lake until his services were no longer required, and that then he should "return to the Presidency,

in order that when opportunity should offer he might be employed in some other branch of the public service."*

There was nothing very hopeful in this. He had resolutely determined, as long as it was possible, to adhere to the Political line; but in that department of the public service great retrenchments were being made, and Metcalfe believed that Sir George Barlow was not likely to extend towards him any very great amount of favor.† He was in no hurry, therefore, to return to the Presidency to wait for a new appointment. Indeed, he seriously contemplated at this time a visit to England, and wrote both to his friends at Calcutta and his family in England, to consult with them on the expediency of the step. He received, however, little encouragement from either quarter. Before, indeed, the answers from his home-letters had arrived, he had made up his mind to continue at his post.

From the following letter, written from Cawnpore at the end of May, may be gathered more distinctly what were his feelings and intentions at this time:

* *Mr. Edmonstone to Mr. Metcalfe, May* 29, 1806.

† Barlow, however, it must be said, had recognised the great ability and the fine character of young Metcalfe from the very commencement of his career, and predicted for him a rapid rise in the service. "I have great pleasure in acquainting you," he wrote to Colonel Collins, "that young Metcalfe possesses very pleasing manners, and that he appears to unite quick parts with a very solid understanding. If I am not mistaken he will eminently distinguish himself among his cotemporaries." When it was ascertained that the King's Government had refused to appoint Sir George Barlow permanently to the Governor-Generalship, in spite of the earnest support of the Court of Directors, a report obtained in Calcutta that the whole Court had voted for Sir George, with the exception of three members, and that Sir Theophilus Metcalfe was one of the three. But the statement was entirely erroneous—Sir Theophilus was one of Barlow's most strenuous supporters.

CHARLES METCALFE TO J. W. SHERER.

"Cawnpore, May 29, 1806.

"My dear Sherer,— . . . I shall quit this place for Calcutta about the middle of June, and suppose that I shall reach it about the first week of August. I have settled to join Malcolm's party on the voyage down. Without waiting for an invitation, I shall inform you that I intend to make your house my home, but I shall hope to hear from you on that point, as it may be possible you are so situated with regard to room or something else, as to make my invasion an inconvenience to you. As I have nothing now to do here, I wish as soon as possible to be at the Presidency, in order that my destination may be decided, and that I may again be employed.

"I am determined, if the Governor-General will allow me, to adhere to the line in which I have made my outset, even if I should be obliged to submit to a temporary loss or degradation, and the scene on which I wish to be employed is that which I have just quitted. I think that it will be the busiest; I therefore give it a preference. On the whole, prospects are not so flattering as they once were to me, but every dog has his day, and *le bon temps viendra*, I trust. I do not mean to make immoderate haste, nor to put myself to any inconvenience in my journey to Calcutta. I shall proceed leisurely. Under more encouraging circumstances, I think that I should have been there before this time, for I feel every wish to be again engaged on public service. By-the-by, I was long ago ordered down, and am perhaps guilty of disobedience by staying so long.

"My letters from England are very pleasing. My father says that he is proud of my conduct. You know, my dear Sherer, what pride a son must feel at such praise from an honored father. One sentence of his approbation is an ample reward for any exertion, and more than consolation under every disappointment. God bless you, dear Sherer.

"Your sincere friend,

"C. T. Metcalfe."

In fulfilment of the intention here expressed, Charles Metcalfe started on his river-voyage to Calcutta in the course of June, and about the third week of the following month he found himself again at the Presidency. He was now only in his twenty-second year; but he had passed nearly six of these in the public service, and was already a ripe diplomatist. By all who knew him—by his private friends and official associates, he was held in such estimation that not one of them hesitated to predict his speedy attainment of the highest honors of his profession. There was much in all this to solace him under what he believed to be a lull in the prosperity of his career; but nothing cheered him so much as his father's letters, which breathed the warmest affection, and expressed the exultant pride with which Sir Theophilus contemplated the honorable progress of his favorite son.

But there was little occasion for despondency of any kind. Charles Metcalfe had not long to sojourn at the Presidency, waiting for the dawn of official re-employment. On the 15th of August, he received a letter from the Secretary of Government, announcing that the Governor-General in Council had been pleased to appoint him "First Assistant to the Resident at Delhi."

This was not a very brilliant appointment. Time was when he would have regarded it with some contempt—but the Political service was not then what it once had been in the palmy days of the "glorious little man" who had set Charles Metcalfe on the high road which leads to fame and for-

tune. He had come now to look more soberly at these things, and so long as he was not removed to the Revenue or Judicial departments, he was content with his situation. Indeed, Delhi was of all others the place in which, under these altered circumstances, he had recently desired to be posted.

Mr. Seton was then Resident at Delhi. A little time before he had been the Governor-General's agent in Rohilcund; but Sir George Barlow entertained so high an opinion of his zeal and ability, that he removed Colonel Ochterlony from the Delhi Residency to place the civilian there in his stead. To Seton, who was a man of peculiar delicacy and generosity of feeling, the circumstances under which he had been ordered to proceed to Delhi would have been extremely painful, if such an explanation of these circumstances had not been offered to Ochterlony as to convince him that he had not forfeited the high opinion of Government.* But Seton was a man whose whole soul was in the public service, and

* See letter of Mr. Seton to Colonel Malcolm, Bareilly, March 12, 1806.—"It must give the sincerest gratification to every honest heart to learn that the explanation of the grounds of the present arrangements have been such as to convince Colonel Ochterlony that he stands as high as ever in the estimation of Government. But surely Government will not content itself with merely soothing the wounded feelings of a public officer of his great and acknowledged merits; nor can I bring myself to think that it is not in contemplation to make a handsome provision for him, although it was not, perhaps, announced or recorded at the same time with the arrangements, inasmuch as it was a public measure."—[*MS. Correspondence.*] The supercession of Colonel Ochterlony had not been decreed without manifest reluctance. "The ground of hesitation I have with regard to this arrangement," wrote the Governor-General, "is the service rendered by Colonel Ochterlony in the defence of Delhi. Is this consideration such as should prevent me removing him? and will it justify my making the sacrifice of the public interests, which I know I should make, if I were to relinquish the arrangement? I consider Mr. Seton's appointment to Delhi to be of the most essential importance in a variety of points of view."—[*MS. Notes of Sir G. Barlow.*]

who, once appointed, was eager to join his appointment, and to devote himself day and night to its duties. Of Metcalfe he knew little, but that little had kindled within him a fervor of admiration for the young *attaché*, and one of his first wishes on being nominated to the Delhi Residency was to associate with himself, in the performance of his new duties, one whom he emphatically described as "a young man of most uncommon abilities and acquirements." "Although my personal knowledge of Mr. Metcalfe," he wrote to Colonel Malcolm, "is but slight, it is sufficient to convince me of the truth of what you say respecting him. We met but *once*. But it was SUCH an 'ONCE'! So interesting a meeting! I already knew a great deal of his character from having seen many of his private letters, and from having been in the habit of familiar intercourse with many of his friends. As a young man of most uncommon abilities and acquirements, not to have known him would have 'argued myself unknown.' When, therefore, we met, I could not meet him as a stranger. Ever since, I have been one of his many enthusiastic admirers. In the arrangements to be formed for conducting the public business at Delhi, the claims of such a candidate cannot be overlooked. I recollect, however, hearing one of his friends and correspondents observe, that he would not like to be stationed at Delhi, and that Calcutta was the station he preferred."* Such being the opinion of the

* *MS. Correspondence.* — The observation in the last sentence must be supposed to have reference to the days when Lord Wellesley was Governor-General. Metcalfe himself subsequently applied for the appointment. Some passages of another letter from Mr. Seton may be introduced here in

young Assistant entertained by his official superior, there was little chance of Metcalfe's connexion with the Court of the Mogul terminating as did his first diplomatic experience at the Court of the Mahratta. Perhaps no two men were ever more unlike each other than Archibald Seton and Jack Collins. Each, as the young Assistant soon discovered, lacked what the other had in excess.

Starting to join his appointment without much loss of time, Metcalfe proceeded by dawk to Delhi, and reached the imperial city on the 23rd of October. The journey was not a pleasant one; but his reception was of the kindest and most flattering description; and he soon began to find, that if in his new official position he had anything to contend against, it was the excessive delicacy and humility of the Resident, who shrunk from employing the services of his Assistant in the manner contemplated by Government in such an appointment. What Charles Metcalfe thought of this, may best be described in his own words:

illustration of this and other points. The communication quoted in the text had been sent to Metcalfe, who wrote to thank Seton for the kindness it expressed. On this the latter wrote: "Think not, my dear sir, that I mean frivolously to compliment or poorly to flatter, when I assure you that our meeting at Kangur made an impression upon my mind—upon my heart, which no time can weaken. The unspeakable interest, which the circumstance of my being then introduced to your personal acquaintance gave to my visit to camp, makes me consider it as one of the leading epochs of my life; and ever since that memorable period, I have longed for the means of being brought into nearer connexion with you, and of being indulged with an opportunity of cultivating your friendship. In this avowal, which is dictated by the heart, you have, my dear sir, a vertical reply to one part of your letter. I shall only add, that if Government comply with your application, and render you my associate in the political branch of the business attached to the Residency at Delhi, I shall feel as if eased at once of one-half of my care. That it will be complied with I cannot for a moment doubt." The meeting alluded to in these letters was in General Smith's camp, when his force was in pursuit of Ameer Khan, in Rohilcund.

CHARLES METCALFE TO J. W. SHERER.

"Dihlee, October 25, 1806.

"My dear Sherer,—I arrived here on the 23rd, after a very troublesome and uncomfortable journey. From Mynpooree to this place I encountered several difficulties. I scarcely anywhere found a sufficient number of bearers, and what there were were old and tottering wretches. I met with a remarkable instance of respeet in an officer of the Udalut, a Darogah, or, as the people in this part of the world call him, Udalut-walla. I passed the whole night in the street of the town of Koorja, because this gentleman had chosen to seize the bearers that had been stationed for me, and had earried them on his own pleasure to a village some miles distant. For the last thirty or forty miles, by mistake no bearers had been stationed, because by an erroneous ealculation I was not expected so soon. I therefore abandoned my palkee, &c., and after a long walk, and when I could walk no longer, a long ride upon a Sowar's horse, which I had the good luck to obtain, I at last reached the object of my labors.

"All is well that ends well, and now I am as comfortable as I could wish. Seton is most kind. I foresee that I shall have some difficulty in persuading him to break through a bad habit whieh he has acquired of doing every part of business, even the minutest, with his own hands. I commenced my attack yesterday, and mentioned to him several duties which he daily performs, and which in my conception ought to devolve upon the Assistant. But he says that he is shocked at the idea of degrading my &c., &c., &e., to such mean occupations, and that the assistance which he expects to derive from me is in the aid of my &c., &c., &e., on the great questions of politics. This is very fine and complimentary, and of course not displeasing, but, as I observed to him, how can that be degrading to the Assistant which is daily performed by the Resident? and what is the use of an Assistant, if he does not relieve the superior from some part of the drudgery and detail

of official duties? He was at last brought to say that we would relieve each other. Such is his delicacy, or the inveteracy of his habit, that I foresee some difficulty; but I shall persist, and do not despair of accomplishing the object. And if once he can be brought to throw off the unnecessary trouble that he takes upon himself, he will, I am sure, be much happier, for at present he worries himself with detail, and the clearest head in the world must be confused by the mixed and multifarious nature of the minute duties to which he gives his attention. He seldom comes either to breakfast or dinner. He rises before the day, and labors until the middle of the night. He does not move out; he takes no exercise, and apparently no food. The real duties of his situation do not require such toil, and I must persuade him to relinquish a part to me.

"The collections are ridiculously trifling, and the districts in a sad and irremediable state of confusion. Orders have been issued for a settlement. Spedding has not commenced on it. It is a funny duty for me to perform, who am entirely ignorant of such matters; but I must undertake it, and as I am completely under Seton's orders, I am not so terrified as I should otherwise be. I shall probably, but not positively, go into the Mofussil to make the settlement, and it is possible that I may take the field against my refractory subjects, of which there are more than there are tractable. God forbid that this business should end in leading me into the Revenue line. I must endeavor to prevent that.

"I am, ever yours affectionately,

"C. T. METCALFE."

Charles Metcalfe was now fairly settled at Delhi—the imperial city of the Great Mogul. The Emperor, Shah Allum, old, blind, and infirm, still held there the mockery of a Court. The victories of the British army on the banks of the Jumna had rescued

him from the thraldom of the Mahrattas to impose upon him another yoke. In our hands he was as helpless, but less miserable. He was at the mercy of men who respected his fallen fortunes, and desired that he should enjoy as much of the luxury and the pomp of royalty as could be purchased for a certain sum of money, to be appropriated to him out of the revenues of our new possessions. How this was best to be done was a question which for some time perplexed the Calcutta Council. Upon the first establishment of our supremacy in the Delhi territories, it was determined that a maintenance for the Royal Family should be provided by means of certain assignments of land, and an annual stipend payable to the Shah. These territories were not to be brought under the operation of the rules and regulations of the Company which were to be introduced into other parts of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces; and it was, therefore, arranged that the fiscal administration of the districts which had been set aside for the maintenance of the royal household should be entirely in the hands of officers appointed by the Shah himself, with the sanction of the British Government. The principal officers for the collection of the customs and duties of the city of Delhi and the management of the police were also to be appointed by the Shah, in concurrence with the British Resident. But this functionary was "not to interfere with the executive duties of any of those officers; nor with the municipal or revenue arrangements of the city or territory, except by his advice

and recommendation."* There was, indeed, to be a sort of *imperium in imperio.* A remnant of regal power was to be delegated to the Mogul, that his money might pass into his hands rather in the shape of revenue than in the shape of pension, and that he might still flatter himself with the thought of possessing some officers and some subjects of his own.

In sanctioning this arrangement, the British Government thought more of the feelings of the Shah than of the prosperity of the people of Delhi. The evils of the system were apparent; and Ochterlony soon pointed them out. "I lose no time," he emphatically wrote to Government on the 30th of November, 1804, "in earnestly requesting, from a knowledge of the disposition and temper of his Majesty and his probable successor, that the provision intended for his Majesty should be a fixed stipend payable, in ready money, from his Treasury. Any lands assigned for this purpose would, I am fully persuaded, be unproductive of the real value, nor could the controlling power intended to be vested in the Resident prevent much oppression in the Pergunnahs, and exorbitant taxation in the city."† This was one side—the people's side—of the question; but looking only at the King's side, it appeared that the new arrangement, though it might flatter the vanity of the Shah, was calculated to inflict upon him a solid injury, by placing it in

* Memorandum by Mr. Edmonstone (April 27, 1805)—"On the Subject of an Arrangement for the Maintenance of his Majesty Shah Allum and the Royal Household."—[*MS. Records.*]

† *MS. Records.*

his power to waste his substance upon favorites and parasites. "Any assignment of lands," wrote Ochterlony, in the same letter, "though it might, and, I have no doubt, would flatter his pride, would only open a path to grants which would in a short time deprive him of nearly the whole of his country; nor would any influence of the Resident be able to control his bounty, which has been, during his life, weak, ill-placed, and indiscriminate."* And in a subsequent letter, pointing out more in detail the evil consequences of placing the collection of the town-customs in his hands, especially in time of scarcity, the Resident wrote: "To give the Shah all that is realised, exclusive of the pay of establishments, would be an easy and a sacred duty in the Customs as in the Pergunnahs; but to invest him with a control, is to give him a power to injure himself, to which the avarice and self-interest of numberless dependents would undoubtedly lead."†

Nor were these the only evils inherent in such a system. It was only too probable, as, indeed, experience had already shown, that in the assigned districts the revenue-payers might sometimes contumaciously withhold the sums claimed by the officers of the Shah. In this case, coercion would become necessary. The taxes could only be collected under the constraint of a military force. A choice of difficulties then presented itself. Either this constraint

* *MS. Records.*—"His (the King's) probable successor," added Ochterlony, "is imbecility personified, and under the guidance of a woman of low extraction, originally a servant of the household, weak, proud, and in the highest degree avaricious and rapacious."

† *MS. Records.*

must have been exercised by the miserable rabble which the King or his officers would be compelled to retain; or the Company's troops must have been employed for the purpose. In the one case, there was no reliance to be placed on the support of men who might at any time have sided with the recusants or been defeated by them; and in the other, the British Government would have been placed in an anomalous and embarrassing position, for they would have exercised military control where they had no civil power; would have been compelled to enforce measures for which they were not responsible; and to counteract evils which they were not suffered to prevent.

On a review of these important suggestions, the Supreme Government, after much consideration, moved by the recommendations of the Resident, resolved on a notable compromise. They were desirous to spare the feelings of the Shah; but, at the same time, not to invest him with powers which might be exercised to the injury both of the people and of himself. So they gave him a nominal authority over the assigned districts; but arranged that, at the request of his Majesty, the Company's servants should undertake their administration in his name.* The authority of the Shah was to be a harmless fiction. The actual administration was to be vested in

* "The lands might be considered as Khalsa lands, placed by his Majesty under the charge of a British authority, and the collections might be made and all other acts done in his Majesty's name; and as the Resident further suggests, inferior officers might be appointed by his Majesty to attend the Collector's office, for the purpose of satisfying his Majesty's mind that no part of the collections is embezzled by the executive officers of the British Government."—[*Mr. Edmonstone's Memorandum. MS. Records.*]

the Resident; but there was to be a great parade of the name of Shah Allum; and the British officers, whilst dandling the miserable puppet, were to appear to be the humblest of his slaves.

But all this was to be merely an experiment. "All circumstances considered," wrote Sir George Barlow, then senior member of the Supreme Council, "and particularly the attention necessary to be paid to the feelings of his Majesty, would appear to render the system of management here proposed the most advisable, at least for the present. But it might be intimated to his Majesty, that if the system should not prove to be well calculated for the improvement of the country, for the realisation of the Revenue, and the maintenance of tranquillity, such alterations in the system will be hereafter suggested for his Majesty's approbation as shall appear advisable. It will ultimately, I imagine, be found to be necessary for the attainment of the several objects above stated, to extend the British Laws (Regulations) to the assigned territories."* And, under the orders of Lord Wellesley, instructions were sent to the Resident in conformity with Barlow's suggestions, based as they were on Edmonstone's abstract of Ochterlony's recommendations. And this was the system of management in force when Charles Metcalfe joined his appointment.

But that the system did not work well was soon

* MS. Notes of Sir George Barlow on the margin of Edmonstone's Memorandum. The paper is endorsed by Lord Wellesley with the words, "Draft of Instructions to the Resident at Delhi, to be sent in conformity to this Memorandum, including Sir George Barlow's remarks, in which I concur.—W."

apparent. Even upon the vestige of authority that remained to him the Shah was inclined to presume; and the excess of delicacy and generosity with which a man of Mr. Seton's temper was sure to treat the poor puppet, tended to increase this natural presumption. That this, however kindly the intention, was in effect but cruel kindness, Metcalfe believed; but he did not come hastily to the conclusion that his official superior was at fault. He had been nearly a year at Delhi, during which he had seen many proofs of the evil working of the system, when he wrote the following letter to his friend Sherer:

CHARLES METCALFE TO J. W. SHERER.

"June 16, 1807.

"My dear Sherer,—I have had so little of any satisfactory matter to communicate, that it has not been incumbent on me to transmit to you an account of my affairs; nay, more, that I am on the whole doing so badly, that it is almost a duty to be silent. Now, having laid a heavy charge on your back, and prevented, as I conclude, by invincible arguments, any retort on your part, I proceed to tell you that I am, with respect to health, as well as usual, and that, I thank God, is very well; in spirits, too, pretty well; and though the place is very dull, and I myself am no great enlivener of society, never fail to be merry on a favorable opportunity. I am tired of business, and long to have less to do, the nearest to nothing the better; for I see that I could spend my time much more satisfactorily and advantageously to myself in my own way, than by attending to the Politics, Police, Revenue, and Justice of this quarter; and now comes the dreadful tale. My Finances are quite ruined, exhausted beyond hope of any reasonable repair. You know that I am very prudent; prudence is a prominent feature in my character; yet, ever since I came to

this Imperial Station, I have gradually been losing the ground which I had gained in the world, and at length I find myself considerably lower than the neutral situation of having nothing; and without some unlooked-for and surprising declaration of the Fates in my power, I see nothing but debt, debt, debt, debt after debt, before me.

"The last stroke that has involved me in utter despair, has been the necessity of building. I have been up to my neck for some time in bricks and mortar, mud and dirt, and I am threatened, in consequence, with being over head and ears in debt. After all, I am only building a small bungalow fit for a bachelor. Notwithstanding, all things conjoining, the expense is considerable. Seton would have had me, very kindly, to live with him; but I declined it for a thousand reasons. The one that I used to him, which was a principal one, was, that I could never enjoy a moment's privacy at the Residency; which is as true as that you could not enjoy privacy seated in a chair in the middle of the Cossitollah. Every part of one is no less thronged with natives than the other. . . . .

"I do not exactly conform to the policy of Seton's mode of managing the Royal Family. It is by a submission of manner and conduct, carried on in my opinion far beyond the respect and attention which can be either prescribed by forms, or dictated by a humane consideration for the fallen fortunes of a once illustrious family. It destroys entirely the dignity which ought to be attached to him who represents the British Government, and who, in reality, is to govern at Dihlee; and it raises (I have perceived the effect disclosing itself with gradual rapidity) ideas of imperial power and sway, which ought to be put to sleep for ever. As it is evident that we do not mean to restore imperial power to the King, we ought not to pursue a conduct calculated to make him aspire to it. Let us treat him with the respect due to his rank and situation; let us make him comfortable in respect to circumstances, and give him all the means, as far as possible, of being happy; but unless we mean to establish his power, let us not encourage him to dream of it.

Let us meet his first attempts to display Imperial authority with immediate check; and let him see the mark beyond which our respect and obedience to the shadow of a King will not proceed.

"Seton, however, seems to think (which if it is, as I think, an error, is a kindly one), that we cannot study too much to soothe the feelings of a family so situated; that the most obsequious attentions do not at all hurt the Resident's dignity; and that by yielding to the King the exercise of power in small points, we shall be able to oppose him with a better grace on great and important occasions. To what length the idea of small points may be carried is uncertain. One man will think one thing, and another another. A great deal is left to discretion; and it has often happened, that what Seton has assented to as a mere trifle, has struck me of such importance as to require opposition. Two authorities exist in the town, which circumstance gives rise to much trouble and confusion. A riot lately took place in the town, threatening to be very serious, which arose, I am convinced, entirely from that circumstance, which would never have taken place if the people had not expected that the King would (as he did) protect them; which had, in fact, its origin in the palace, and which, if traced to its primary cause, proceeded, I believe, from the effect of Seton's too delicate and submissive conduct. Ideas of the exercise of sovereignty ought, I think, to be checked in the bud; it may be attended with difficulty to destroy them when they have been suffered to grow for some time; at least, greater difficulty than there is in suppressing them altogether.

"Enough.—This letter begins to smell of the shop. Of mighty importance to be sure are the politics of Delhi! What progress that infernal villain Buonaparte has made; I long to hear more of affairs in Europe. We have had a long interval of darkness since the last accounts. No letters either from home. I have just heard of the sudden death of Colonel Collins. There is always something more shocking in a sudden death than in a forewarned demise. I felt a stronger spirit of

resentment against him than I have ever felt towards any other man. He has reached that goal at which all enmities subside; mine are at an end. I sincerely forgive him for the wrong he did to me; and I trust that God will forgive me if I ever wronged him.

"Remember me to all friends, and believe me,

"Ever your sincerely attached,

"C. T. METCALFE."

The "riot" of which Metcalfe speaks in the above letter was this. The Mussulmans of Delhi had risen up in rebellion because a Hindoo banker of influence had carried an idol through the city, and had been suspected of an intention to impart undue pomp to the proceeding. A cry was raised that the interests of Islam were in danger. The banker's house was attacked. There were tumultuous gatherings in the streets. Seton was absent, in attendance on the princes, who were performing certain ceremonies in honor of the late King's memory;* so the responsibility of quelling the disturbance devolved upon Metcalfe. He did it promptly and well—with energy and with judgment. He went first to the officer in command of the troops, and desired him to get his men under arms, and prepare to march into the city. Then he went to the palace, and called upon the King to exert his authority to suppress the tumult. The answer of the King was unsatisfactory; so Metcalfe proceeded at once to the lines, called for the immediate aid of the military authority, and returned with the battalion to the scene of disorder. The presence of the troops damped

* Shah Allum had died in December, 1806.

the energies of the rioters, the crowds dispersed, and there was almost a bloodless victory. Had the King done his duty in the emergency, not a shot need have been fired.*

Leaving for a while this poor shadow of a "Great Mogul," with his pension of 200,000*l.* a year, let us dwell for a moment on the former part of this letter, and bestow a thought upon the "pecuniary circumstances" of the Assistant to the Resident at Shah Allum's Court. If Biography were to take note of things, and to expatiate upon them in proportion to the amount of thought devoted to them by the subject of the "Life" or "Memoir," a very large space in all these Lives and Memoirs would be devoted to the "pecuniary circumstances" of the man whose character and career are in course of illustration. The greatest among us will think about money and be disquieted by the want of it. To be in debt is with young civilians almost a condition of existence. Some never get out again. Now Charles Metcalfe never had been extravagant; but he had been in debt before this, had extricated himself from it, and now he was "in difficulties" again. The fact is, that, pecuniarily speaking, his fortunes had not lately been on the ascendant. When attached to the Governor-General's Office, in 1804, he had drawn a salary of 800 rupees a month. An addi-

* Metcalfe's conduct in this matter elicited the praises of the Supreme Government. The Chief Secretary wrote:—"You will be pleased to communicate to your First Assistant, Mr. Metcalfe, the Governor-General in Council's high approbation of the firmness, judgment, and promptitude of action manifested by Mr. Metcalfe on that critical occasion. To the exertion of those qualities the Governor-General in Council primarily ascribes the speedy suppression of the disturbance."

tional (deputation) allowance of 12 rupees a day had been subsequently granted to him, when he was serving in Lord Lake's camp; and as the order for this grant was not passed till many months after he had joined the Army, and then took retrospective effect, the accumulations enabled Metcalfe to pay off all his old debts. But on the 15th of December, 1805, the Governor-General's Office having been abandoned, the salary which he had drawn as an Assistant in it ceased, and in its place he was allowed a salary of 400 rupees a month, with the same deputation allowance as before. He was now, in 1807, drawing 750 rupees a month as Assistant to the Delhi Resident—being nearly 500*l.* a year less than he had received three years before.* This might have sufficed him—but the necessity of building a house at Delhi caused an increase of immediate expenditure, which he could not meet; so the curse of Debt sate again upon him. He had a liberal and a wealthy father, who at this time was so proud of his son's success in life, and of the repeated eulogies that were passed upon him, that he would have done anything for him, and often said so; but on this very account Charles Metcalfe was slow to ask—he would rather have suffered all the miseries of Debt for years than have presumed on the kindly emotions which he had raised in his parent's breast. He determined therefore to extricate himself; and before long the means were placed at his disposal. Some new arrangements for the

* These facts and figures are taken from the original official letters preserved by Lord Metcalfe. It is needless to make separate references to each.

civil administration of the Delhi territory caused an increase of his official duties, and with it came an increase of his salary, the accumulations of which he left to form themselves into a sinking fund for the reduction of his debts.* And never after this reduction did he feel the burden again.

But there was much in Metcalfe's estimation to detract from the advantages of this increased salary. The new duties imposed upon him were connected with the fiscal administration of the Delhi territory; and he had a great and increasing dislike of Revenue business. Even when the Commission, appointed in 1807 to report upon the civil administration of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, was in course of construction, and Mr. Tucker, the working member of the itinerant Board, was anxious to see Charles Metcalfe attached to it as Secretary, he was unwilling to accept such a situation lest it should lead him away permanently from the Political line to which he was resolute to adhere. On other accounts, the appointment had many attractions—and when he found that his friends Sherer and Bayley were attached to the Commission—the former as Secretary, the latter as Interpreter, he often longed to be one of the party. In the following letter to the former his opinions and feelings are clearly expressed:

CHARLES METCALFE TO J. W. SHERER.

"July 10, 1807.

"My dear Sherer,—I am rejoiced to see your appointment and Butterworth's to the Commission, as I indulge the

* Letter to Sherer, *post*, page 236.

hope of seeing you here, though not immediately. It of course has taken place with your entire consent, and both you and Bayley, I imagine, retain your respective situations in Calcutta. It will be a delightful trip for you; you will see a great deal which you must greatly wish to see. You will obtain a most extensive knowledge of a most important branch of our affairs, and your situation being only temporary, it will not interfere with your plan of always keeping your headquarters in Calcutta, nor with your views of promotion in that most successful field of action. Considering these circumstances, I look upon your appointment as a most pleasant and fortunate event, and congratulate you upon it accordingly. The same to Bayley, to whom I shall shortly address my sentiments on his conduct, although he has behaved so shockingly lately as almost to be unworthy of my notice. My love to him notwithstanding. I already anticipate some delightful days with you two in my Bungalow at Delhi. You have a most respectable Deputy and agreeable companion in Fortescue, to whom I beg you to remember me kindly. My remembrance also to the Commissioners in proper terms and degrees. By-the-by, Tucker will, doubtless, have mentioned to you what I read in a letter from him to Richardson, that at first, with the assent of Cox, he had proposed to Sir G. Barlow, through Lumsden, my appointment as Secretary to the Commission. Of course at that time he could not have expected that the Secretary's office would be put on so respectable a footing. He could have had no idea that the Government would spare you Bayley and Fortescue, otherwise he would never, it is clear, have thought of me. I will tell you the effect that this had on my mind when Richardson sent me Tucker's letter. I must observe that Tucker wrote just after Lumsden left him to carry the proposition to the Governor, and therefore could give no hint of the result. I was, of course, flattered by the circumstance, and obliged to Tucker, but I wished that he had not made the proposal, and I did not like the thought of getting so deep into the Revenue line, and so

far from the Political. I did not know what I should do, if any reference were made to me, as on the one hand to give up my hold on a favorite line, and on the other to reject so respectable a situation likely to be attended with considerable advantages, would be either way difficult. My hope was that Government, without any reference to me, would make its own arrangement excluding me, and so relieve me from the responsibility of guiding my own destiny. The sight of your appointment was the first and is the only intelligence which I have yet received, and besides the pleasure of seeing your appointment to a post which I thought would be pleasing to you, I felt on my own account great relief. Although I am much obliged to Tucker for thinking of me, I am glad on many accounts that the present capital arrangement has taken place. If I could take the tour which you are about to make in company with you and Bayley, what happiness I should feel! But alas, alas! I must rest contented with the hope of seeing you here. With respect to the object of your Commission, it is my private opinion—but I am not, you know, a mighty wise man in these matters (nor indeed in any other)—that the Ceded and Conquered Provinces are not ready for a Permanent Settlement. But you come, I suppose, with discretionary powers, and I trust with full and efficient control.

"If the Commission wishes to try its hand at unsettled countries, it will have a glorious opportunity in those which have lately been under my management (perhaps it would be more properly called mismanagement). All my efforts to call the attention of Government, or even the proper and active attention of the Resident, to the subject have been vain. I thank God, Spedding will be here in two or three days, and I shall be relieved from the charge. Then there will remain the confounded Udalut, in which, from circumstances peculiar to Delhi, there is work for ten Judges without there being one. If these duties continue, it will be a farce to call myself in the Political line, whilst I am continually fagging from morning to night in the Judicial and Revenue. I shall on Fraser's arrival

astonish Seton, by requesting permission to confine myself to *my own* line; and perhaps shock him by this proof of my insensibility to the prayers of a numerous people petitioning for justice; for Seton, in theory, is an enthusiast for the administration of justice. . . . We have been, and are, and I believe ever shall be, on the best of terms. We have had our different opinions on public matters, and argued them, and finally adhered each to his own, without any interruption of harmony or diminution of confidence, and considering our relative situations the merit of this rests entirely with him. More of him another time. For myself, I never, I assure you, can lose sight of the object to which you guide my thoughts; I mean Adam's office. I despair, indeed, of ever gaining it, but I do not the less desire it. It is the only situation in India that I think of. I would make any exertions to obtain it if I expected success. But I fear, I fear, I fear, that I have no chance. I wish that you could make out an *obvious connexion* between it and the trifling affair which lately happened here. I sincerely thank you for your kind expressions relative to the business here. It was a trifle, and you have heard all relating to it that is worth mentioning. I have much left unsaid, but will resume at another time; it is now very late. Believe me ever, my dear Sherer, not forgetting the glorious defeat of the Corsican wretch,

"Yours most affectionately,
"C. T. METCALFE."

In this letter we see with sufficient distinctness that Charles Metcalfe could not easily reconcile himself to the performance of the uncongenial duties of the Revenue and Judicial departments; but in the following, his dislike of these services breaks out with more manifest impatience; for he had been disquieted by an unexpected call to act as Collector

of Saharunpore. There was a scarcity of civilians at that time in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces; and there were geographical reasons, if none other, why Metcalfe should be taken from Delhi to officiate for Mr. Guthrie, during his leave of absence from the station; so he received a missive from one of the Government Secretaries, ordering him to act as Collector of Saharunpore "for one month"—an "insignificant duty," of which he could not refrain from expressing his disgust:

CHARLES METCALFE TO J. W. SHERER.

"Meerut, August 27, 1807.

"My dear Sherer,—I have just now received your letter from the Ganges, between Mirzapore and Allahabad. I rejoice to find that you are so much pleased with your trip. It appears to me to be a great relief to the sameness of your official duties, and altogether an event which must be attended with incalculable advantages. I am not surprised that your mind wanders occasionally from Regulations, Reports, and Plans, to seek refreshment in the Elysium of interesting literature. I should be very much astonished to hear the contrary of *you*, though it might do very well for M——. In saying what you did to Tucker concerning my views, you acted like a true friend. If the offer of such an honorable post had ever reached me, I might have hesitated before I declined it. An ambition to be so distinguished would, doubtless, have tingled in my breast; but my reason tells me, that in order to secure any success in the Political line, or any other, the only wise way is to adhere to that line most tenaciously; and as my choice is fixed, I mean to pursue what appears to be the best way to attain my object. With these sentiments, you will be able to conceive that my disgust and annoyance is not small in being

sent on the insignificant duty of acting as Collector in the absence of Guthrie from his station.*

"This is a dreadful blow to all my plans, because it may be repeated whenever the convenience of sending me from Delhi to act for any Collector in the vicinity may suggest itself to the wise head of an unaccommodating Secretary. What would I not give, if I must act out of my line, to change my present situation to be made your deputy! I should like very much to know what answer *my friend* Sir George gave, when I was proposed as Secretary. If you should ever hear from Tucker, let me know. I dare say it was, that I was too young and inexperienced.

"I hope that I shall be able to spend some time with you and Bayley, but I shall not be so much my own master as you expect. I shall, most likely, have a troublesome year of it. I expect to be out the greater part of the season with a considerable military force, to *reduce* a barren unproductive country to subordination. It will be a most unpleasant duty; but Seton's heart is set upon it, and I do not know how I can get rid of it. Unfortunately, our districts are not put under your

* Metcalfe wrote to his friend John Adam, who was then in the Secretariat department, setting forth the inconvenience of detaching him from his regular duties to act temporarily out of the line of his profession; and it may be gathered from the following extract from Adam's reply that he obtained something of an assurance that he would not be sent on deputation again:

"I am sorry," wrote Mr. Adam, on September 17, 1807, "that I am not able to give you a positive promise that you will never at any future time be employed on deputation; but I think it extremely improbable that you will, after what I have said to Edmonstone on the subject, and the manner in which he has spoken to Dowdeswell. D. excused himself on the subject of your being sent to Saharunpore on the ground of there being no other fit person whom they could employ on that duty within a very great distance, and he assured him that it should not occur again. Edmonstone himself is fully impressed with the impropriety as well as the unfairness of sending you to perform duties so foreign to your own profession and to your inclination. . . . . It so happened, too, that one day at Barrackpore Lord Minto was asking me about your situation (which he introduced by saying that Seton had been writing of you in terms of high praise), and I took the opportunity of telling him your objections to the temporary employment you were upon, and your wish to devote yourself altogether to the Political line. He made some observation about the superiority of the Political line, and that your deputation would not last long; but whether the impression will remain, I cannot tell. I should hope, however, there is no danger of your being again made a collector."

Commission—if they were, I should expect some good in them. Our Customs at Delhi particularly require your interference; which, from the absurdity of keeping up all the old Sayers, and refraining from introducing a new system, are in a most abominable state. A representation that I made on the subject, in order to get rid of the worst part of them, went no further than Seton's desk.

"I am much of your way of thinking with regard to his Majesty of Delhi. If I do not go all lengths with you in destroying every part of the shadow of his Royalty, I am, at all events, for letting him see very clearly that he is a mere shadow; and if this could not be done completely without destroying even the empty name which I would wish for the present to leave to him, I would destroy even that. Thinking as you do, you will be vexed, as I am, to find that the tone, language, and behaviour of the *Court*, together with all the outward marks, and in some respects, the real operative influence of Royalty, have become in an increasing ratio much more ridiculous and preposterous since the accession of the illustrious Ukbar than they were before. It has often made me wonder, and at the same time almost made me mad, to see a most worthy excellent man blind to such gross absurdity, and a dupe to wild and romantic feelings.

"As we near, I hope that our correspondence may become more frequent. This hint is not necessary to Bayley; he at all times writes so frequently! My love to him. Remember me to Fortescue.

"Believe me ever, your sincere friend,

"C. T. METCALFE."

All through the cold weather of 1807-1808, Charles Metcalfe, actively employed in the performance of his official duties, had little time for private correspondence. Nor would there have

been much to gather from it that would advance the progress of the narrative if he had found leisure to keep up a constant interchange of sentiment with his friends. But the summer of the latter year came to him pregnant with great events. His ambition was now about to be signally gratified. Lord Minto was at this time Governor-General of India. From all quarters he had heard the praises of Charles Metcalfe, and though personally unacquainted with him, he had such confidence in his zeal and ability, that he rejoiced when the progress of events enabled him to give the Delhi Assistant an opportunity of distinguishing himself on an independent field of action. He was about to be employed on an important Political Mission, demanding for the due execution of its duties the highest diplomatic powers. In what state the summons found him may be gathered from a letter which he wrote in July to his friend Sherer. He had then either not received the official notification of his appointment, or it was a State secret—but soon afterwards, he was on his way to the Punjab:

CHARLES METCALFE TO J. W. SHERER.

"Delhi, July 3, 1808.

"My dear Sherer,—As it is long since I have written to you, I will give you some account of myself. As by the blessing of God I have a good constitution, and have never experienced any of those misfortunes which wound the heart or warrant any tendency to melancholy, I enjoy as usual good health and good spirits. My accounts from my family are in all essential points of a most pleasing nature. My father and mother continue perfectly healthy. My sisters are growing up

all that their parents wish them to be; and Master Tom is said to be a quick, merry boy, with a *slight inclination* to idleness.

"From China I have no late intelligence. The only bad piece of news that I have received from England is, that my father has lost his seat in Parliament. I am sure that he must feel the want of it, and I confess that I felt much annoyed by the intelligence. There is some consolation, however, in thinking that at my father's time of life rest and retirement, if not required, ought at least to be beneficial.

"You are of course acquainted with the arrangement which has lately taken place here, attaching permanently to the situation of First Assistant the duties of the *ci-devant* office of Superintendent of Revenues. I am far from being pleased either with the arrangement or the mode in which it has been ordered; but there is no use in grumbling about it. To the charge of the business now settled upon me they have affixed the Commission which the Superintendent used to draw, in order, I suppose, to soften the bitterness of the trouble. I mean to make this a sinking fund for the reduction of my debts, which, owing to the expenses of my Bungalow, has risen to a considerable amount. My political character will henceforth be little more than nominal, for I must necessarily give up my time and attention to Revenue matters. In two or three days I shall take the field, and I do not expect to take up my residence again at Delhi before the next hot winds.

"What an unexampled and surprising picture the state of Europe now presents; France, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Germany, Holland, Spain, Portugal, Denmark, Italy, Turkey, all Europe, save little Sweden, combined against our country. We may truly call ourselves '*divisos orbe Britannos.*' Although this is a state of things which no one could ever have wished to see, I confess that I feel a pride in it. There is something glorious in fighting against the world. I admire the spirited and dignified conduct of our Ministers. I hope that we shall do as well as possible under such strange circumstances. Surely the combination against us cannot hold together long. Is it

not unnatural? Will the Emperor of Russia long consent to be the tool of France? or is he, with all the other Powers of Europe, so completely enslaved as to make his conduct and theirs not a matter of choice? What strange things we have seen. We go to war with Turkey entirely on account of our friendship with Russia—Turkey makes peace with Russia but cannot be induced to make peace with us, and the two Powers unite against us. We broke off a treaty with France on account of some point for which we were struggling in favor of Russia, and now Russia and France are in alliance against us. We sent to Prussia money and arms to assist her against France, and now both money and arms are turned against us on the side of France. We sent a large expedition to the Baltic to aid our allies; when it arrived our allies had become our foes, and it was obliged to take the navy and capital of one of those Powers whom it was sent to protect from French influence.

"We have at different times paid Austria, Russia, Prussia, and Germany; we preserved to Turkey a great portion of its empire, driving out its enemies the French; we have constantly fought the battles of Europe against France; and all Powers are now ranged on the side of France against us. Hurrah for the tight little Island! What will become of General Whitelocke, think you? Perhaps he will be shot, as Voltaire says, speaking of Admiral Byng: '*pour encourager les autres.*' God bless you.

"Your faithful friend,

"C. T. METCALFE."

CHAPTER VIII.

[1808—1809.]

THE MISSION TO LAHORE.

Apprehensions of an Invasion—Measures of Defence—Metcalfe appointed Envoy to Lahore—Meeting with Runjeet Singh—Conduct of the Rajah—Delays and Excuses—Metcalfe's Diplomatic Address—His Firmness and Decision—Advance of the British Troops—Progress of Negotiation—The Proposed Treaty—Collision with the Akalis—The Treaty concluded.

When, in the spring of 1808, from the Council-chamber of Calcutta, Lord Minto and his colleagues looked out upon those vast tracts of country which lie beyond the Sutlej and the Indus, and saw already the shadow of a gigantic enemy advancing from the West, it was no idle terror that haunted the imaginations of our British statesmen. The pacification of Tilsit had leagued against us the unscrupulous ambition of the great French usurper and the territorial cupidity of the Russian autocrat. That among the mighty schemes which they then discussed for the partition of the world between them, the invasion of India was not one of the least cherished, or the least substantial, now stands recorded as an historical fact. We know now that it was nothing more than a design; but it was not less the duty of

our Indian rulers in 1808, to provide against a contingency which then seemed neither improbable nor remote. The occasion was one which, if it did not warrant a demonstration of military power, at all events invited a display of diplomatic address. It was sound policy, in such a conjuncture, to secure the good offices of the princes and chiefs who were dominant in the countries which were supposed to lie on the great high road of the invader. If the rulers of Afghanistan and the Punjab could be induced to enter into friendly alliances with the British Government for the resistance of invasion from the North, it seemed to Lord Minto and his colleagues that more than half of the danger which threatened our position would be at once removed.

Already was French intrigue making its way at the Persian Court. That was the sure commencement of the great game that was about to be played —the safest and the wisest commencement. It was a great thing, therefore, to re-establish our ascendency at Teheran—and a great thing to achieve the diplomatic occupation of the countries between Persia and India before our enemies could appear upon the scene. To accomplish the former object John Malcolm was despatched to the Court of the Shah-i-shah; and to secure the latter Mountstuart Elphinstone and Charles Metcalfe were ordered to proceed—the former to Cabul, and the latter to Lahore.*

* What the course of aggression to be pursued by the French would be, our Government could of course only conjecture, for it is doubtful whether the former had ever any very clear perception on the subject themselves. The following passages, however, from the letter of instructions sent to Charles

The Prince to whose Court Metcalfe was ordered to proceed was Runjeet Singh. Since, in pursuit of Holkar, Lake's battalions had encamped in the country of the five rivers, the rise of that chieftain had been rapid. He had gone on without halting,

Metcalfe indicate what Lord Minto's conjectures were. After speaking of diplomatic events in Persia, the document thus proceeds:

"The increasing importance of those transactions in Persia, and the activity and advancement of those hostile projects of the French, which suggest the necessity of a close connexion with the states of Lahore and Cabul, having rendered the establishment of a direct intercourse with the Rajah of Lahore and the King of Cabul at an early period of time an object essential to the interests and security of the British Government in India, the Right Hon. the Governor-General in Council has resolved to adopt without further delay the measures necessary for that purpose, by appointing direct Missions to each of those Courts, intending at the same time that the officers employed on this occasion should be vested with authority to open a negotiation with them respectively for the attainments of the ultimate object of the proposed connexion, that of encouraging the states of Cabul and Lahore to resist the progress of a French army, which may endeavor to traverse the territories of those states with a view to the invasion of India; and the Governor-General in Council, reposing full confidence in your zeal, ability, discretion, and local knowledge, has been pleased to vest you with the charge of the proposed Mission to the Rajah of Lahore in the capacity of Envoy on the part of the British Government."—[*Edmonstone to Metcalfe, June* 20, 1808.] And again: "If the French should ultimately fail of securing the co-operation of Persia in the execution of their hostile designs against India, and should be enabled to advance their armies into Persia, they may be expected to endeavor to establish their power in the latter country by force of arms. It is probable, indeed, that, under circumstances, they will place their dependence on their power to overawe and control the state of Persia rather than on the friendship and co-operation of that state. With regard to the precise nature of the measures and operations by which the French may endeavor to prosecute their hostile designs against India, after having opened a passage for their troops into Persia, established a military ascendancy, Government possesses no authentic information. Some reports state that the French propose to aid the King of Persia in the conquest of the Afghan territories, and to annex them to the King's dominions, and subsequently to invade India by the route of Caubul and the Punjab. Other reports have stated, that it is the intention of the French to prosecute the projected invasion of India by the southern route of Scinde and Guzerat. . . . . Although the French may possibly pursue the course above stated with respect to the Afghan territories, it is at least equally probable that they will endeavor, by means of their emissaries, to secure the good-will of the King of Cabul, and to obtain for their troops a free passage through those territories. It is to be expected also that they will despatch emissaries to Lahore with the same view. It is consistent with the activity which distinguishes the character of the French, to suppose that they have already despatched agents to those countries—a supposition which augments the urgency of your Mission, and the proposed Mission to Cabul."—[*Edmonstone to Metcalfe, June* 20, 1808.]

on his career of conquest. A man of unbounded energy and unfailing courage—with great natural sagacity and no inconvenient amount of conscientiousness either to control his energies or direct his abilities—he had been recently absorbing all the small principalities beyond the Sutlej, and consolidating them into a great empire. Even the petty Sikh states on our side of the Sutlej were not beyond the scope of his ambition. He was eager to bring them also under the common yoke; and as he approached the confines of British dominion, was already beginning to excite the jealousy and mistrust of his Christian neighbours. In 1805 he was known to us merely as one of the chiefs of the Punjab; in 1808 he was the Maha-rajah (or great king) Runjeet Singh.*

Of the Sikhs we were long content to know little. In the first years of the century our British functionaries spoke of them as "miscreants," as a law-

* See Metcalfe's own account of the progress made by Runjeet in this interval:

"It must be remembered that in the time of the Mahrattas his (Runjeet's) power was very petty compared with what it is at present. He had not then subdued many chiefs of the Punjab, and would not presume to extend his views beyond the Sutlej. As late as 1806, when the British army was on the Becah, he was not the sovereign of places in the Punjab within thirty miles of Lahore. Indeed, several of his present obsequious dependents were then quite independent of him, and some were in open war with him. Since the beginning of 1806 his power has increased in an extraordinary manner, and as, throughout his life, it has been progressive, it may be supposed how inferior it was in 1802 and 1803, when the Mahrattas were masters of Delhi. From 1803 to 1806 he was extending his possessions in the Punjab. In the course of 1806 he nearly completed the subjugation of the country, and in the latter end of the last-mentioned year he commenced his encroachments on the left bank of the Sutlej. Since that time his power has become much more respectable than it was before—since that time he has amassed treasure of which he had none before—since that time he has collected most of his guns and formed his infantry corps. In brief, since that time his power has assumed substantial form and greatness."—[*Metcalfe to Edmonstone. MS. Records, June* 2, 1802.]

less and degraded people, either indulging their predatory habits abroad, or sunk deep in sensuality at home. Neither their territorial arrangements nor their military resources were matters of vital concern to us at this time; and if we took any account of the national character of the followers of Govind, it was in pursuit rather of ethnographical knowledge than in furtherance of any political ends. But the great war with the Mahrattas, and the conquests which it had forced upon us, brought us into proximity with these strange new people; and it then became apparent to us that we could no longer regard the Sikh States as a group of petty principalities, exercising no influence whether for good or for evil upon the security of our position, or the pacific character of our rule. It seemed, indeed, necessary to do something; but what that something was to be it was difficult to decide. In the disunion of the Sikhs there were elements both of safety and of danger to the British—of safety, because a power so utterly wanting in union and organisation could never be formidable in itself; of danger, because the very causes which prevented the Sikhs from becoming formidable enemies rendered it impossible that they should become serviceable friends. There was, indeed, in these states, on both sides of the Sutlej, nothing of unity or stability out of which a barrier against external invasion could be erected. It was apparent that we could enter with them into no engagements that could bind them to oppose the advance of an European army. To protect themselves against spoliation it was but

too likely that they would league themselves with the invaders, and swell the tide of devastation and destruction. It was difficult to deal with such a combination of circumstances as now presented itself, and yet to adhere strictly to those principles of non-interference which the British Legislature had established, and to which the Indian Government of the day declared its fixed determination to adhere.*

The advantages of giving something like a tangible form and substance to the scattered elements of the Sikh power on the banks of the Sutlej had been urged upon the Supreme Government by Colonel Ochterlony whilst still Resident at Delhi. It was proposed by him, that the British Government should distribute the country between the Sutlej and the Jumna among four principal Sikh chiefs, the precise limits of the territory of each being assigned by us, and that we should enter into specific engagements with these chiefs. Or, if it were considered that such engagements were not likely to be observed, it was suggested that resort might be had to a more decided exercise of our

* See, for the views of the Supreme Government in 1805-1806, minute drawn up by Mr. Lumsden for the Governor-General:

"The Sikh chieftains in the actual condition of their respective tenures could not by any arrangement be rendered efficient allies and auxiliaries against an invading enemy. It would be impracticable to unite them in a common interest and a common cause. In the event of invasion they would probably add by their junction to the number of the invaders, and increase their means of devastation. . . . . We could not safely or prudently depend in any degree upon the sentiments of gratitude or the obligations of public faith and honor to govern the proceedings of such a tribe. The ruling chieftains would probably provide for their security from immediate plunder or destruction by conciliating and assisting, and perhaps by joining, the enemy."—[*MS. Records.*]

paramount power—that the whole body of Sikh chiefs might be reduced to the condition of tributaries, and compelled to pay for the maintenance of a British force to "watch their conduct," or, in other words, to hold them in absolute subjection. But this was not a course of policy likely to find favor in the eyes of Lord Cornwallis, Sir George Barlow, or Lord Minto. "The Resident was informed that the arguments which would justify such an exercise of our power would equally justify the annexation of the whole of the Sikh territory to the British dominions, and that the extension of our territorial possessions, or of our political control for purposes of expediency, or even of comparative security, unsupported by motives of indisputable justice and indispensable necessity, had never constituted an object of the policy of this Government." * A strictly defensive system was to be maintained—not that defensiveness which is nine parts aggression, but rigid non-interference, which turns its back upon its neighbours until it receives a blow from behind. The Sikh chiefs were to be left to themselves. But they were to be chastised if they offended us. Predatory incursions across our borders were to be visited in the first place by the expulsion of the offenders at the point of the bayonet, and in the second place by the partition of their lands among those chiefs who aided us in the suppression of the lawless excesses of their neighbours. And it was believed that we should best

* Minute of Mr. Lumsden, *ut supra*.—[*MS. Records*.]

maintain the integrity of our frontier by showing that we were as unwilling to practise as we were able to resist aggression.

In this state, affairs remained until the year 1808, when the two circumstances to which I have referred at the commencement of the chapter induced Lord Minto to depart from the policy to which his predecessors had so religiously adhered—the increased apprehension of European invasion and the progressive consolidation of the empire of Runjeet Singh. A Sikh alliance had now become more expedient and more practicable. We wanted an ally, and we had found one. Left to themselves, the Sikh chiefs on the further side of the Sutlej had, one by one, been compelled to own the supremacy of Runjeet, whilst those on our side of the river, awed by the threats of the Lahore chief, were trembling for the safety of their possessions. Of the influence and the ability of this chieftain the British Government had no doubt. His integrity and good faith they may have questioned, for he was a Sikh. But they believed that they might work upon his hopes and upon his fears, and by demonstrating to him that his own interests would be largely promoted by an alliance with the British, induce him to enter into an engagement for the protection of the frontier of Hindostan.

In the winter season of 1807-8 a favorable opportunity of establishing amicable relations with the Lahore chief seemed to have presented itself. Runjeet Singh, who had written a friendly letter to Lord Minto, contemplated a visit to Hurdwar; and it

was resolved that a British officer should be despatched to meet him there. The functionary selected for this duty was Charles Metcalfe.* But the vacillating chief never fulfilled his intention; and when subsequently he declared that he contemplated a visit to Thanesur, it was felt that so little reliance was to be placed on his movements that it would be expedient to shape our own measures without reference to the uncertain procedure of the impulsive Sikh. So it was determined that a Mission should be sent across the Sutlej, under the conduct of Charles Metcalfe; and on the 20th of June, 1808, the Supreme Government, under the hand of Mr. Edmonstone, formally announced his appointment, and the instructions by which the young ambassador was to be guided.

The duties of the Mission were to be entrusted entirely to Metcalfe himself. He was to move without secretaries, assistants, or attachés. A military escort was to be provided; and a proper establishment of moonshees, writers and servants, was to be furnished. But the work of diplomacy was to be left entirely to his unaided counsels. He was to carry with him, however, the Oriental diplomatist's

* Metcalfe had applied for the Deputy-Secretaryship in the Political department, on the translation of John Adam. Lord Minto had previously made other arrangements with respect to this office, but he directed his Private Secretary, in reply to Metcalfe's application, to express his Lordship's high sense of his character and abilities, and the desired intention of the Governor-General to take an early opportunity of promoting so excellent a public servant. "The esteem," wrote Mr. Elliot, "which his Lordship has conceived for your character and talents, is founded as well on what has already fallen under his own observation as on the report of those whose judgment has been formed on a longer acquaintance. It will, therefore, give him great satisfaction to evince these sentiments by such marks of confidence and favor as he may find suitable opportunities of showing you."—[*Mr. Elliot to Mr. Metcalfe, October* 25, 1807.]

best auxiliary, a costly supply of presents; and, in order that his communications with the Government might be frequent and uninterrupted, he was instructed to establish a letter-post between Delhi and Umritsur. His personal salary was to be 2000 rupees a month, and all the expenses of the Mission were to be charged to the State.*

Such were the outer circumstances of the Mission to Lahore. The letter which determined them carried also the instructions of the Supreme Government relative to the course of policy to be pursued by the British representative at the Sikh Court. It was such a letter as Metcalfe had never received before—such a letter as a young man of three-and-twenty has seldom, if ever, received from the Government of a great empire. The object of the Mission was of the most momentous character. It was simply to counteract the towering ambition of the gigantic despots of France and Russia. Of the great scheme of diplomacy by which Persia, Afghanistan, and the Punjab were to be erected into friendly barriers against Russo-Gallic invasion, Metcalfe was to be the pioneer. He was to prepare the way for Elphinstone, and make things ready for the reception of Malcolm. He was to conduct a series of the most delicate operations alone and unaided in a strange country, and to negotiate a treaty of friendship with a Prince of an uncertain and capricious temper, of selfish and unscrupulous ambition, unrestrained by any principles of Chris-

* *Mr. Edmonstone to Mr. Metcalfe, June* 20, 1808.—[*MS. Records.*]

tian rectitude, or any courtesies of civilised life. But the very difficulties which beset such a position, and the responsibilities with which it was surrounded, only in the eyes of Charles Metcalfe, enhanced its attractiveness. He had been panting for a great opportunity, and now the great opportunity was come. They who have caught glimpses of the early character of the man in the recorded pages of his Common-place Book, and seen what were his aspirations, will readily conceive what were the pulsings of his warm heart, and the tinglings of his young blood, when he sate down to read the instructions of the Supreme Government, and to draw up for his future guidance the following memoranda, containing an abstract of the Chief Secretary's Letter and his own interpretation of its contents:

"MEMORANDA FROM INSTRUCTIONS.

"General and conciliatory answers to be returned to any questions from the Cis-Sutlejean chiefs respecting the object of my mission. Arguments to be used to satisfy them that the improvement of the relations of amity between the British Government and the Rajah of Lahore involves no arrangements prejudicial to other chiefs. Applications for protection against Runjeet Singh to be referred to the President of Dihlee, but endeavors to be made to convince the chiefs that Government takes an interest in their welfare, and that the objects of my mission are entirely consistent with those friendly sentiments.

"Main object of the Mission:—Counteraction of the designs of the French. The time of stating my ultimate purpose to be regulated by circumstances. Expedient first to make myself

acquainted with the character and disposition of Runjeet Singh and his Ministers, and to endeavor to create an interest with them by conciliating their confidence and good-will. Proper to ascertain the Rajah's disposition respecting my residence at his Court. If he should be desirous of my continuance, to select my own time for opening the negotiation. In the mean time, to represent the object to be the improvement of the amicable relations so long subsisting between the states, and confirmed by the intercourse between Lord Lake and the Rajah, and by the treaty then concluded. Reference to be made to Runjeet Singh's friendly letter to the Governor-General, and the Governor-General's reply. To observe that the demonstration of attachment contained in that letter had augmented the solicitude of Government to cultivate the connexion between the two states, and that I had been sent accordingly for the express purpose of cementing the bonds of friendship. That I had been despatched to Hurdwar with the same view; and that the failure of that opportunity of showing our friendship had suggested the still more distinguished mark of regard by a direct Mission to his Court.

"Cases in which it would be advisable to enter immediately, or the proper object of my mission:—1st. If any French agent should have arrived at, or might be expected in, Lahore, or the adjacent countries. 2nd. If the designs of the French and the state of affairs in Persia should have attracted the Rajah's notice. 3rd. Receipt of authentic intelligence of the actual advance of a French army towards Persia.

"General principle upon which to conduct the negotiation: —Opposition to the French to be urged as the only way of securing the Rajah's territories and independence from the insatiable ambition and unlimited encroachment and violence of the ruler of France. To persuade him that he will not be able to resist the enemy without a British force. To secure the Rajah's consent to the march of a British army through the Punjab, and the exertion of his authority in furnishing supplies, with permission to establish depôts of provisions and

military stores. To express the full confidence of the British Government in its power. To explain the facility of cutting off the supplies of the enemy, and withholding from them the produce of the country.

"To avoid a declaration of non-interference in case of the renewal of his attacks upon the Cis-Sutlejean states, and to manage that delicate question as well as I can. To show a disposition to accede to engagements of a strictly defensive nature if proposed; but to refer the question for the decision of Government, except in an evident emergency.

"To facilitate the Mission to Cabul and establish a preliminary intercourse with the Court, and to establish a channel of intelligence and communication to the westward. Not to announce the intended Mission to Cabul until after its departure from Dihlee, but to be prepared to remove from Runjeet Singh's mind any jealousy or apprehension. No objection to disclosing the object of the Cabul Mission after having disclosed my own, otherwise to attribute it to motives which cannot injure him.

"To collect and communicate every information regarding the political state of the country, also respecting those points which it is expedient to ascertain with reference to the march and supply of troops. To ascertain the routes through which it is practicable for an army to march from Persia to the Indus. To communicate information respecting the geography of the countries to the westward of that river.

"To discover the real disposition of Runjeet Singh towards the British Government, and to regulate my negotiations accordingly. To inquire respecting his resources, troops, government, dominion, relations with other states, &c., &c. To discourage Mehtab Kour and her mother *quoad* their plot. To do away the effect of Captain Matthews's proceedings. To inquire into the reported intrigue with Holkar and Amnut Rao."

To one of Metcalfe's aspiring temper, not the

least of the attractions of this new employment was derived from the considerations of the great extent of country over which he was to be permitted, under certain contingencies, to spread the network of his diplomacy. He already saw himself despatching emissaries to the Courts of Cabul and Teheran, and baffling the gigantic intrigues of Napoleon and Alexander throughout the whole expanse of Central Asia. But his enthusiasm was always tempered with sound good sense, and when he committed to writing, more for his own guidance than for any other purpose, his views of the course which it was expedient to pursue with reference to a correspondence with those distant Courts, there was nothing discernible in the paper but the workings of a plain, practical mind :

" It appears from the minute of the Governor-General and the instructions which I have received, that the Mission to Lahore will considerably precede that to Cabul, and his Lordship has expressed an expectation that I may have the means of facilitating the latter Mission, and of establishing a preliminary intercourse with the Court of Cabul. It is proper, therefore, for me to consider how I can best carry these instructions into execution.

" The uncertainty existing respecting the time at which Mr. Elphinstone will proceed on his mission, gives rise to some doubt regarding the proper plan for me to pursue. If any great delay were in contemplation, I should think it right for me in the first instance to endeavor to open a correspondence with the Minister of the King of Cabul of a general friendly nature, and to refrain from any communication of the intentions of Government to send an Envoy to Cabul until I had ascertained the disposition of the Court, and found a proper opportunity. In

this case, I should think it right to despatch a native agent to Cabul, with a letter to the Wuzeer, requesting permission for him to attend the Court on my part, for the purpose of sending me account of the welfare of his Majesty, and of establishing a medium of friendly communication. This is all that I should think it advisable to do at first; and I should expect that opportunities would occur of proceeding further in the course of the correspondence which would probably follow this introduction. I should not, if I were to act according to my own judgment, charge the native with any directions to sound the Ministers respecting the disposition of the King; nor should I make him acquainted with the views of Government, because I would not on any account put it into his power to commit the dignity of Government.

"In the case stated, it is supposed that there may be that interval between my arrival at Lahore and Mr. Elphinstone's departure from Dihlee, which would admit of a general friendly correspondence with the Court of Cabul previous to announcing the intention of Government to send an Envoy. But if Mr. Elphinstone is to proceed on his mission at an earlier period than has been supposed, the line of conduct above mentioned would not answer; and in that case it would, I think, be advisable, and most suitable to the character of the British Government, to announce its intentions in a dignified and open manner, by sending a native as the bearer of a letter directly to the Court. It is scarcely possible that the King of Cabul would wantonly insult the British Government by any improper reply to this notice; and the expediency of making this direct advance is considerably strengthened by the probability that a report of the intended Mission may reach Cabul before the desired intercourse can be opened with the Court. It is, however, probable, that the measures already adopted by Mr. Seton will lead to a correspondence, which may afford opportunities of announcing the Mission in a manner different from that above suggested.

"It may be a question whether it would be most advisable

to conduct the preliminary intercourse with Cabul through the Resident at Dihlee, or through Mr. Elphinstone, or through the Envoy at Lahore; at present I am instructed to turn my attention to the object as well as to the necessity of opening a communication with Teheran immediately after my arrival at Lahore; and it is, consequently, necessary that I should be accompanied by natives qualified to be employed in these important matters, either according to such particular instructions as I may hereafter receive, or according to the best of my judgment, formed upon the general orders which I have already received. This consideration induced me to request from Mr. Seton the assistance of Fyzut-oolla at Lahore; and with the same view, I propose to carry along with me Syud Jafier Khan, who was formerly employed by Colonel Scott on a mission to Nadaun. One or the other of these, whichever may appear to be best qualified, I propose to send without delay, if all things remain as they are, to Cabul, charged with a letter from myself to the Minister; and the other I intend to employ in opening the communication with Persia. It is not my intention to confine my endeavors to obtain intelligence of the state of the Court and country of Cabul to the mission of a native to Cabul with a letter. We ought, besides, to have secret news-writers, not only with the Court, but in Cabul, Cashmeer, Peshawur, Candahar, Moultan, Herat, and as far as possible in the interior of Persia."

Little time was lost in making the necessary preparations for the departure of the Mission. In the first week of August, Charles Metcalfe turned his back upon Delhi. The weather was unpropitious. It was the height of the monsoon. The heavy rains, and the bad roads, for a while impeded the progress of the Mission. After passing Kurnaul, the weather began to improve; but the travellers invariably found themselves either in a quagmire or a

pool. "The country," he wrote, "is so full of water, and the roads are so deep with mud, and the soil so soft, that it is difficult for cattle of every description to move. We have been under the necessity of taking a circuitous route, the direct road not being passable; and we have not been able to make marches of a greater distance than about ten miles daily." On the 22nd of August the Mission reached Puttealah, one of the chief places in the Cis-Sutlej states, and here the serious business of diplomacy commenced.

The Rajah of Puttealah received the British Envoy with profuse demonstrations of compliment and congratulation; and at a public interview, unexpectedly produced the keys of the fort, and requested Metcalfe to restore them to him as a gift from the British Government. He threw himself, he said, entirely on our protection—all that he had was at the mercy of the British—his government and his existence would cease without our support. But Metcalfe read at once the true meaning of this proposal, and answered that he was not authorised by his Government to perform any such ceremony, but that the British were his friends, and ever desired his prosperity; and that the keys could not be in better hands.*

On the 1st of September the Mission crossed the

* Soon afterwards, the chief told him that he had heard it was the intention of Runjeet Singh to cross the Sutlej and to seize Fureed-kôte, which was in the Puttealah dominions—an intention which was subsequently fulfilled. It was suggested, too, to Metcalfe, that it would be expedient for him to write to Runjeet to say that the British Government desired him to remain at Lahore to receive the Mission.

Sutlej.* At Puttealah they had been met by an agent despatched by Runjeet Singh with a letter of welcome and congratulation; but as they advanced into the Punjab, it became at every stage more and more obvious that that erratic Prince had little intention of remaining at home, either at Lahore or Umritsur, to receive the British Embassy in a becoming manner. It was reported, indeed, that he had crossed the river with the intention of making a descent upon the Puttealah territory; but this Metcalfe was slow to believe, and the Sikh agent who remained in his camp either was, or pretended to be, ignorant of the movements of his master. All doubts, however, were soon set at rest by the receipt of a letter from Runjeet himself, announcing his intention to receive the British Mission at Kussoor. Troops, it appeared, were assembling there from all quarters; but Metcalfe believed that the chief cause of the assemblage was a desire on the part of the Sikh chief to make a formidable display of his military resources in the presence of the British Mission.†

Metcalfe pushed on to Kussoor, which lay upon his road to Umritsur;‡ and upon the 10th of Sep-

* Before the Mission had reached the banks of the river, Metcalfe had despatched a confidential agent to Cabul with instructions to communicate all that was passing in Afghanistan, and to keep open the communications with Persia, to which country Malcolm was about to proceed at the head of a great Embassy.

† "Runjeet Singh's army is assembling from all quarters. Notwithstanding the reports that are in circulation respecting his intentions, I am inclined to suppose that his principal motive in collecting his forces at this period is a desire to make a good display of his military power before the British Empire."—[*Mr. Metcalfe to Mr. Edmonstone, September* 5, 1808.]

‡ He seems to have had some misgivings at this time regarding the external appearance of the Mission at the Sikh Court—the clothing of his escort being in a most discreditable

tember he halted within a few miles of the Sikh camp, that the ceremonials of the reception might be arranged. On the following day, Runjeet's Prime Minister* and his chief military officer,† with a retinue of two thousand men, came out to conduct the Mission to the ground which had been marked out for their encampment, at a distance of less than a mile from the Rajah's tents.

"On the 12th," wrote Metcalfe to the Chief Secretary, "I paid my first visit to Runjeet Singh, accompanied by the officers attached to the escort. The Rajah met us on the outside of a large enclosure, and having embraced all the gentlemen of the Mission, conducted us within, where tents had been prepared for our reception.‡ As a compliment to us, the Rajah, from his own choice, used chairs at this meeting, partly collected from our camp and partly from his own, upon which he and the principal Sirdars present and the gentlemen of the British Mission were seated. This interview was prolonged by the Rajah beyond the usual time of visits of ceremony; but nothing of consequence passed at it. The Rajah did not enter much into

condition. He reported the circumstance to Government.

* The Dewan Mokun Chund.

† His adopted brother, Futteh Singh.

‡ Metcalfe was of opinion that Runjeet ought to have come out to meet the Mission, but this Runjeet declined. His representations, however, were not without some effect.

"It appeared to me," he wrote, "that the rank and dignity of the Government which I have the honor to represent, required that the Rajah should come out from his camp to meet the Mission, and I had it intimated to him that such was my expectations. He did not come into my wishes in that respect; but the references which I had occasion to make respecting the ceremonials, had a good effect, inasmuch as they produced a great change in them, for at first the reception was proposed to be in a style far inferior to that which has been observed."—[*Metcalfe to Edmonstone, September* 13, 1808.]

conversation, and made only two observations worthy of remark. One was an expression of regret for the lamented death of Lord Viscount Lake, of whom he observed that it would be difficult to find his equal, for that he was as much distinguished by his gentleness, mildness, humanity, and affability, as by his greatness as a military character. The other observation was in reply to one of his courtiers, who was remarking that the British Government was celebrated for good faith; upon which Runjeet Singh said that he knew well that the word of the British Government included everything." Presents were interchanged, and in the evening a salute was fired in Runjeet's camp in honor of the day, which he intimated to Metcalfe was regarded by him as a day of rejoicing.

In spite, however, of these declarations of friendship, the reception given to the British Mission had nothing of cordiality in it. Runjeet was plainly jealous and suspicious of the British Government. His better reason clouded by the false insinuations and the mischievous advice of counsels of chiefs, who, from motives of self-interest, desired to embroil Runjeet with the Company's Government, he forbade all communication between the two camps, and for some time was unwilling to return the visit of the British Envoy. It was obviously his wish to enhance his own importance in the eyes of the assembled chiefs and the large body of troops encamped at Kussoor, by appearing to hold the British Mission of little account. "In brief," wrote Metcalfe, "it would appear that I am regarded as a dangerous

enemy to be guarded against, rather than as an Envoy from a friendly State charged with the most amicable duties."

But the decided conduct of the young Ambassador soon induced Runjeet at least to pay the British Mission the compliment of a visit. On the 16th Metcalfe received the Sikh with all honors. A suite of tents had been erected for the occasion, and a musnud in the Oriental fashion prepared for the Rajah's occupancy. But Runjeet, preferring the European style, seated himself on a chair, and still eschewing business, entered into familiar conversation with the British officers, principally on military subjects.* After the interview, he expressed a wish to see the manœuvres of the detachment of Company's troops composing the escort, and mounted on an elephant, watched the exercise of the sepoys with interest and seeming pleasure. He took his final leave, to all appearance, much gratified; and such had been the cordiality of his manner, that Metcalfe believed a favorable change had taken place in the feelings of the Sikh, and that the

* "He spoke with great respeet of the British troops, and observed of the Mahratta army whieh he had seen in this country that it contained great numbers, but that it wanted union and command. He related the following aneedote, which happened when Jeswunt Rao Holkar was in the neighbourhood of Umritsur. A report was brought to Holkar that Lord Lake had crossed the Beeas in pursuit of him. Holkar immediately mounted his horse. The alarm spread through his army, and the whole fled to a considerable distance, leaving all their tents standing. It was pleasing to observe that this had made an impression on Runjeet Singh, and that he had no objection to mention it. He put questions concerning our favorite mode of fighting, the distanee at which we erected our batteries in besieging, the distanee at which our artillerymen could hit a target in praetice, with others of a similar nature and tendency. He eomplained of the difficulty of introducing diseipline among the people of the Punjab."—[*Metcalfe to Edmonstone, September* 17, 1808.]

business of the Mission would soon proceed without interruption. Great, therefore, were Metcalfe's astonishment and disappointment when, on the following day, he received a letter from Runjeet Singh, which he characterised in his official communications to Government as "an extraordinary instance of suspicion, hastiness, and disrespect." The letter, in its Eastern phraseology, contained the meaning here embodied in an English dress :

Translation of a Note from Rajah Runjeet Singh to Mr. Metcalfe, delivered by Misr Prebdial, Hukeem Uzeezoodeen, and Meean Imaum-ood-deen on the evening of the 17*th of September*, 1808.

"I never before at any time under any emergency, or in any place, have made so long a halt as I have now, solely in consequence of the friendship between this Government and the Honorable Company, which by the blessing of God has been increasing and improving from the time in which his Excellency Lord Lake came into this country to the present happy hour. My camp has remained in this place so long, in the expectation of your arrival. Thanksgivings to the Throne of the Almighty, this wish of my heart, that is, your arrival, and the pleasure of seeing you, has been obtained in a proper manner.

"Although it is difficult to feel satiety from the interviews of friends whose hearts are united, and although the times of meeting, however many, seem too few, yet affairs of State must be attended to. Consequently, I am about to march immediately for the settlement of certain districts. In my nation it is considered very auspicious to march on the first day of the moon; and my march is appointed for that day. Therefore be pleased to make the friendly communications on the part of the Right Honorable the Governor-General, with which, from his Lordship's letter, I understand you to be charged, in order that I may act accordingly. My anxiety cannot admit of longer expectation."

Outwardly courteous and complimentary as was this effusion, its uncourteous and uncomplimentary meaning peeped out from every sentence of it. "This extraordinary document," wrote Metcalfe, "gave me notice in a plain manner that I was expected to take my leave in three or four days. It was calculated to repel, whilst it professed to call for communications, and in, I suppose, an unprecedented manner, evinced a design to shut the door against all intercourse, and to put an end to the proceedings of the Mission, without even ascertaining in the slightest degree the object to which they might be directed." But Metcalfe believed that the obnoxious letter was hardly to be considered as the own act and deed of Runjeet himself. It was, he knew, the result of suspicions instilled into him by others; and he did not yet despair of bringing the chief, by good diplomacy—by conduct at once firm and conciliatory, into a more reasonable frame of mind. So he sent back the following letter in reply:

Translation of a Note from Mr. Metcalfe to Rajah Runjeet Singh, transmitted on the night of the 17th of September, in reply to that received from the Rajah on the evening of same day.

"By the blessing of God the relations of friendship have been firmly established between you and the British Government, from the time when his Excellency General Lord Lake was in this country, and have been daily improved, particularly since the period when you wrote a very friendly letter to the Right Honorable Lord Minto, the Governor-General, congratulating his Lordship on his arrival in India. In consequence, when you formed the intention of visiting Hurdwar, in order

to bathe in the Holy Ganges, his Lordship deputed me for the purpose of receiving you with every respect, and attending you during your stay in that quarter. It happened that your intentions were postponed. The Right Honorable the Governor-General, wishing to display a signal mark of his friendship and regard, has now commanded me to repair to your Court to express the satisfaction with which his Lordship views the existing harmony and concord between the two states, and with a view to establish and improve the ties of intimacy and union. To-morrow I hope to have the honor of waiting upon you whenever you are at leisure, when I will make the communications with which I am entrusted by the Right Honorable the Governor-General, and present a letter which I have from his Lordship to your address."

This letter was not without its anticipated effect. Metcalfe was right when he believed that Runjeet had been led astray by the instillation of some falsehood with which the men by whom he was surrounded had poisoned his understanding. He had been told that Metcalfe was on his way to Cabul; and that the British Mission had not been despatched primarily and exclusively to his Court, but merely instructed to pay him a passing visit. But this lie was soon exploded; and Runjeet again began to regard the Mission with complacency. An answer was promptly returned to Metcalfe's letter; and it contained an eager invitation to the meeting proposed by the British Envoy:

Translation of a Note from Rajah Runjeet Singh to Mr. Metcalfe, received from Meean Imaum-ood-deen on the 18th of September.

[After compliments.] "In an auspicious and happy moment your friendly letter, most agreeable to my inclinations,

every letter of which refreshed my eye, reached me, and gave splendor to the unity and concord (subsisting between us). That which is written by your friendly pen respecting what has happened from the illustrious arrival of Lord Lake in this country up to your arrival, in order to confirm and improve the relations of intimate sincere friendship, which by the blessing of God have been so firmly established, and so manifestly displayed as to be known to all, collectively and individually; and the intimation which you give of your intention to visit me, and make me happy by the communications entrusted to you by the Right Honorable the Governor-General, have given me thousand-fold pleasure and joy.

"My desire to see you cannot be postponed from this day till to-morrow, and my inclination is impatient of delay, but in consequence of the season, and state of my constitution, I have this day taken medicine. To-morrow, therefore, at three o'clock in the afternoon, bring pleasure to your friend's house. Hukeem Uzeezoodeen will arrive with you at that hour and conduct you."

On the 19th of September, Metcalfe visited the Rajah, and, in the presence of the principal Sikh councillors, opened the discussion by accusing the Rajah of encouraging unjust and unworthy suspicions. This was denied. Evasive explanations of the offensive letter were given. And after a conversation conducted on both sides with the utmost good humor, it was determined that the propositions of the British Government should be received, when the Sikhs had held a council of state to determine upon their plan of operations. But this was manifestly reversing the order of things. So when subsequently a deputation waited on Metcalfe, to explain that the Sikhs could not determine upon the course they were to

pursue until they were informed of the nature of the propositions to be made to them, the British Envoy acknowledged the cogency of the assertion, and declared that he was willing on the following day to deliver the important message with which he was charged by his employers. It appeared to Metcalfe, indeed, that it was no longer desirable to keep Runjeet in ignorance of the real objects of his mission; for the mind of the restless Sikh might be diverted by thoughts of the Anti-Gallican alliance from other objects on which it was not expedient that he should dwell.

So on the afternoon of the 22nd of September, Metcalfe went unattended to Runjeet's residence, and there found the Sikh ruler surrounded by his principal councillors of state. "I opened the conference," wrote Metcalfe, reporting all its circumstances to the Supreme Government, "by stating that the friendship which had happily existed between the Rajah and the British Government, had induced the Right Honorable the Governor-General to depute me to communicate some important intelligence, in which the Maha-rajah's interests were materially concerned. I then mentioned that his Lordship had received authentic advices that the French, who were endeavoring to establish themselves in Persia, had formed the design of invading these countries, and of seizing Cabul and the Punjab—that his Lordship's first care was to give warning to the states which this intelligence concerned—that feeling the interests of the British

Government and those of the Rajah to be the same, his Lordship had commissioned me to negotiate with the Rajah arrangements for the extirpation of the common enemy, and had appointed another gentleman to be Envoy to Cabul for similar purposes with respect to that country, who would in a short time, with the Rajah's permission, pass through this country on his way to the place of his destination. I added, that these measures had been adopted by the Government in the purest spirit of friendship, and that it was evident that the interests of all the states in this quarter required that they should unite their powers in defence of their dominions and for the destruction of the enemy's armies.

"At the conclusion of this introduction," continues the young Envoy, "the Rajah and all present following him, made an exclamation of admiration at the friendly conduct of the Right Honorable the Governor-General in making this communication, and expressed without hesitation a ready concurrence in his Lordship's plans. The Rajah asked, how far the British army would advance to meet the French, and what force would be sent? I replied, that these questions would depend upon subsequent arrangements; but that it was our practice to seek our enemy, and that no doubt the Government would send an army beyond Cabul. With respect to the amount of the force, I observed, that would necessarily depend upon circumstances, but that such a force would of course be sent as would be

amply sufficient to destroy the foe. He asked if troops were ready to advance, and when the French might be expected? I said that the moment at which the enemy might be expected could not at present be ascertained—that it might be sooner or later—but that there was no doubt of the design, and that it behoved wise governments to be prepared to counteract it; and that our troops always are, and always would be, ready to advance.

"After expressing in animated terms his desire to co-operate with the British arms, his sense of the friendly motives which had led to the communications from the Right Honorable the Governor-General, his approbation of the plan of attacking the enemy before they could reach Cabul, and his satisfaction at the prospect of a close alliance with the British Government, which had long, he said, been the wish of his heart, now spoke in a whisper to Misr Prebdial (one of his councillors), who, in consequence, carried aside all the persons present except the Rajah, Kurreem Singh, Imaum-ood-deen, and myself. Whilst the gentlemen apart were deliberating in a whisper, the Rajah continued to converse with me, sometimes on subjects connected with the objects of my previous communication, and sometimes on general topics. He started the idea that the King of Cabul might throw himself in the arms of the French, and asked what would be done in that case? I said, in that case we must attack the King of Cabul as well as the French; but that it was improbable that he would be so blind to his own interests; for that the French invariably sub-

jected and oppressed those who joined them; plundered and laid waste their country, and overthrew the Government. In the course of this conversation I endeavored, in conformity to the instructions of the Supreme Government, to alarm the Rajah for the safety of his territories, and at the same time to give him confidence in our protection.

"The Rajah asked if all was right with Holkar? I said, 'Yes;' and that since the peace with him made in this country, he had continued on the most friendly terms with the British Government. 'But,' replied the Rajah, 'he is a determined rascal (*pucka hurumzadah*), and no trust can be reposed in him.' I answered, that when we were at war with him, we used to call him a great rascal; but as we were now at peace, we always spoke of him with the respect due to a friendly chief. The Rajah mentioned, that when in this country, Holkar prohibited his troops from plundering as long as Lord Lake's army was near to him, but let them loose on the country as soon as his Lordship had commenced his return to the British dominions.

"When the deliberations of the whispering council were concluded, the result was conveyed by Misr Prebdial to the Rajah's ears, and the Rajah delivered some order to him in the same manner; after which Misr Prebdial addressed me in a long speech, the substance of which was, that the Rajah concurred in everything that I had communicated, and particularly desired to have the closest connexion with the British Government; but that the business not being of slight consideration, but of the highest im-

portance, it was necessary to proceed with deliberation—accordingly, that the question would be fully discussed by the Rajah with those present, and that the result of their deliberations on that and other subjects should be communicated to me on the following morning. The Rajah said the same; and having enjoined profound secresy to all present, put an end to the conference."

The morrow came, and with the morrow a new light dawned upon the subject. To the Sikh councillors it did not appear, upon consideration of the whole matter, that they had much to apprehend from the rumored incursion of the French. The danger was at most something remote and conjectural. They hardly could bring themselves to believe that the counteraction of foreign influence in the countries of Central Asia was the real object of the Mission to Runjeet's Court. And if it were, they argued among themselves, the alliance which the British Government sought was mainly for its own advantage. Why then should not the treaty at the same time embrace objects more nearly and palpably advantageous to the Sikhs themselves? It was Runjeet Singh's earnest desire, at this time, to obtain from the British Government a recognition of his sovereignty over all the Sikh States on both sides of the Sutlej; and it was now intimated to Metcalfe that the Rajah suggested the expediency of including this and other provisions in the contemplated treaty. To all of this Metcalfe listened patiently; but he firmly replied, that he had no authority to give any such guarantee on the part of the Government which he represented

—that the alliance against the French was the first point to be arranged, and that the rest would be left for future consideration. But this was not a view of the case which the Sikh councillors were inclined to take. The interview, therefore, was not a satisfactory one; and nothing was settled except—the last resource of inconclusiveness—that the views of Runjeet Singh should be reduced to writing, and considered by the British Envoy.

I cannot follow in detail all the consultations—many of them mere profitless repetitions of inconclusive discussions—which day by day Metcalfe reported to the Supreme Government. The difficulties with which the young diplomatist contended were many and great. He soon perceived that in Runjeet Singh he had to deal with a man inordinately ambitious himself, and out of measure suspicious of the ambitious designs of others. Untainted by any objects of aggression as was this Mission to Lahore, it must be admitted that Runjeet's suspicions were not wholly without foundation. He had seen, within the space of a few years, the fairest provinces of Hindostan subjected to the yoke of the conquering Feringhee. If he had extended his dominions, our extension of territory had been far greater; and there was sufficient, at least in the antecedents of British conquest, to make him fearful of his independence, when he saw our battalions already approaching the banks of the Sutlej, and our diplomatists, the sure forerunners of our armies, beginning to spread themselves over all the countries of Central Asia. It is not strange, therefore, that one, by nature sus-

picious in the extreme, and wrought upon by evil councillors and treacherous adherents, should have regarded the advance of the British Mission with distrust. From the very first his suspicions had broken out into acts of open discourtesy. He had forbidden, as I have before said, all intercourse between the two camps. Supplies had been refused to the Mission. The native bankers were afraid to cash Metcalfe's bills. Runjeet's spies were continually in the British camp. The camp had been pitched on ground selected by Runjeet in the bed of a dry river, on whose banks the Sikh sentries were incessantly posted. Our messengers had been intercepted; our letters had been opened; and Metcalfe had excused himself to Government for submitting to many indignities which he pretended not to observe. He had certain great ends to accomplish, and he would not be arrested or turned aside by any obstructions but those of the greatest national import and significance.

But that which most embarrassed Metcalfe at this time was the unscrupulous course of territorial aggrandisement which Runjeet was determined on pursuing in the face of the British Mission. It was obviously his intention to turn to account what he hoped would be considered the implied sanction of the British Government to his conquests on the southern bank of the Sutlej. The suddenness of his movements baffled all diplomacy, and prevented all remonstrance. Thus on the 25th of September, just as the negotiations appeared to be in a favorable state, Runjeet suddenly, without intimation to the British Envoy, and without consulting his Minis-

ters, broke up his camp at Kussoor, and prepared to cross the Sutlej.* The primary object of the movement was the capture of the fortress and surrounding territory of Fureed-kote—a tract of country in the domain of the Rajah of Puttealah, one of the chief of the group of his Cis-Sutlej States;† but it was openly boasted in camp that the expedition was designed to accomplish the subjugation of the whole of the country lying between the Sutlej and the Jumna. And there were those who said that, this accomplished, some hostile movements against the British would certainly ensue.‡

Following the Sikh camp at a convenient interval of time, Metcalfe, on the 28th of September, again met Runjeet Singh. The interview was held on an island in the river. The confidential servants of the Rajah were present; and the manner of Runjeet himself was courteous and conciliatory. But there seemed to be a hopeless gulf between the two nego-

* Reporting this to Government, Metcalfe wrote: "I was disposed to augur well from the spirit of this conference; and great was my surprise on rising this morning to find that the Rajah's army was moving. Uzeezoodeen at the instant came to me and said that he had been sent by the Rajah to inform me that he was about to march to the river Beeas, and to request that I would march too. I answered that I could not march to-day; but that I would follow the Rajah as soon as I could. I expressed my surprise at the Rajah's moving so suddenly and without giving me any previous intimation, and I desired to know what were the Rajah's intentions, where he was going, and whether he would cross the river or not. Uzeezoodeen could give me no satisfactory information. I therefore desired him to bring me an answer on these points from his master, saying, that until I should obtain the information required, I could not say whether it would be proper for me to accompany the Rajah or not."—[*Mr. Metcalfe to Mr. Edmonstone, Camp Kussoor, September* 25, 1808.]

† Fureed-kote was, however, at this time in the possession of rebels who paid no revenue to the Puttealah Rajah.

‡ Metcalfe reported, among other things, that there was "a story on foot to the effect that the Rajah of Bhurtpore had applied to Runjeet for aid against the hostile designs of the British, that his application had been backed by Holkar, and that Runjeet Singh had agreed to co-operate for the defence of Bhurtpore."

tiating parties, which it was impossible to bridge over. Metcalfe still asserted that he came for nothing but a defensive alliance against the French. "If the French invade your territory," he said, "you will profit greatly by the alliance. If they do not, you will not suffer by it." Reduced to this simple formula, the case was a convincing one; and Runjeet at first seemed to be staggered by it. But he clamored for the sanction of the British Government to the extension of his sovereignty over all the Sikh territories; and was eager also to introduce into the treaty a clause, pledging us not to interfere for the prevention of any hostilities that he might be pleased to carry on in the direction of Cabul. Such was the unvarying tenor of his discourse; and every new meeting only served to convince Metcalfe of the difficulty of persuading the Rajah to abandon a design which lay so very near to his heart.*

In the mean while, Metcalfe's letters, despatched with unfailing punctuality, and admirably lucid in all their details, were exciting much grave reflection in the Council Chamber of Calcutta. The

* Summing up the whole state of the case after the lapse of another month, Metcalfe wrote to the Supreme Government: "It appears to me that he wishes merely to have a treaty of perpetual friendship with the British Government to be maintained hereafter with his heirs and successors; that he is indifferent to the proposed alliance against the designs of the French, as the danger is not near nor perceptible to him—that to that alliance generally, however, he has no objection, although he wishes to make his agreement to it the means of obtaining concessions from the British Government; but at the same time he does not view without uneasiness the progress of the measures in contemplation, and the probability of the introduction of British agents in his territories, the disclosure of the actual state of his country, army, and resources, and other imagined consequences of opening the means of communication between the British Government and the disaffected chiefs whom he oppresses."—[*October* 20, 1808. *Mr. Metcalfe to Mr. Edmonstone. MS. Records.*]

seeming determination of Runjeet to extend his conquests on the southern bank of the Sutlej, excited in Lord Minto a very strong desire to arrest by force of arms the progress of the ambitious Sikh. The first minute which he wrote upon the subject, hinted at the expediency of instructing Metcalfe to intimate to Runjeet Singh, that if, pending negotiations, any advance were made towards our frontier, or if any interruption were at any time given to the Cabul Mission, it would be considered as a declaration of war.* But he was a statesman of a calm and dispassionate nature, and he recorded at the same time, that these were only his first hasty reflections, and that he would, "in the course of the day, collect more deliberately such thoughts on the general question as might appear worthy to be communicated" to his colleagues, and to the Envoy in Runjeet's camp. And the result of these subsequent deliberations, aided by a memorandum drawn up by Mr. Edmonstone was, that Metcalfe was instructed not to follow any course that would precipitate his abrupt departure from Runjeet's camp, but to protract his negotiations, and to avoid, if possible, such a rupture as would incite Runjeet to assume an attitude of open hostility.† These instructions Met-

* *Minute of Lord Minto, October* 28, 1808.—[*MS. Records.*]

† "I do not think," wrote Lord Minto, "that we should be justified, in point of policy, in breaking at present with Runjeet Singh. The point to aim at in our present transactions with the Rajah of Lahore appears to be, that we should keep ourselves as free as can be done without a rupture. I should on this principle rather wish to protract than accelerate the treaty. I feel the force of the observations contained in Mr. Edmonstone's note concerning the effect which is likely, or rather certain, to be produced on the mind of Runjeet Singh by the immediate close of Mr. Metcalfe's mission; and I should think it advisable, therefore, not to adopt that measure. Mr. Metcalfe should be particularly instructed not to hasten the nego-

calfe had anticipated. The course laid down for him was that which his own judgment suggested, and already he had entered upon it.

Having thus resolved to gain time and to amuse Runjeet, whilst they were maturing their plan of ultimate operations, and waiting to see what might be written down in the ever-fertile Chapter of Accidents, our statesmen at Calcutta began to take larger views of the whole question, and to consider whether it would be expedient to yield to the solicitations of the Rajah, or to maintain the independence of the Sikh chiefs on our side of the Sutlej. Lord Minto at once determined that the question was one which he was justified in deciding upon the grounds of immediate policy, rather than upon any abstract principles; and after weighing the consequences of the adoption of either course—each being beset with its own peculiar difficulties—he resolved that the interests of the British Government demanded that the aggressiveness of Runjeet Singh should be stemmed, and that the lesser chiefs between the Sutlej and Jumna should be supported. But this object was not to be gained by mere passive resistance. "A consequence of our refusing our assent to Runjeet's proposal," wrote Lord Minto, "must be the necessity of our affording open and immediate protection to the Sikhs, and employing a military force for that purpose. For to declare that we

tiation for which he was originally deputed. For this there are never wanting sufficient means. It will be proper, of course, to suspend negotiations until Runjeet Singh has given us satisfaction on the point of his present operations by actually re-crossing the Sutlej."—[*MS. Memoranda of Lord Minto.*]

do not consent to the proposed conquests, and at the same time to look on whilst they are achieved, is a contradiction calculated alike to alienate the Sikhs and to provoke the enmity of Runjeet Singh. That we should advance," he added, "a body of troops to the Sutlej, and take part in that river in concert and connexion with the principal Sikh chiefs, I should not think in itself a disadvantage, but in our present circumstances the reverse."* The Governor-General did not conceal from himself that this measure might precipitate an open collision with Runjeet, but he was prepared to abide the result.

In the mean while, Runjeet Singh, having taken possession of Fureed-kote, was dragging the British Mission hither and thither, still evidently desirous that its presence should seem to sanction his aggressive proceedings, until Metcalfe demanded that the Rajah should name some fitting place where the Mission might remain encamped until Runjeet had completed his operations, and was in a position again to give himself uninterruptedly to the pending negotiations. After much further discussion leading to no result, and some wild propositions at which Metcalfe only laughed,† it was agreed that the

* *MS. Memoranda of Lord Minto.*

† Among others was a proposition to the effect that Metcalfe should return to Calcutta, taking with him one of the Sikh chiefs as Runjeet's Wakeel (or agent), and finish the negotiations at the Presidency. This Metcalfe treated as a "humorous proposal." Another scheme put forth by the Sikhs was that two treaties should be drawn up—one according to Runjeet's wishes, one according to our own—and that the latter should be held in pawn until redeemed by the ratification of the former! It was with reference to one of these conferences (on the 24th of October) that Metcalfe wrote that the confusion produced by the eagerness of eight Sikh councillors to declare their opinions was almost sublime. "I beg you," he said, "to conceive an assemblage of nine persons, in which eight are endeavoring by all manner of means to obtain a particular point

British Mission should halt at Gongrona, a place between the Sutlej and the Jumna, about twenty miles south-east from Loodhianah, until Runjeet had done his work. The Sikh army was now moving upon Umballah, and thus bringing itself into dangerous proximity to our own frontier-station of Kurnal.*

A lull in the more strenuous activities of the Mission enabled Charles Metcalfe not only to take a comprehensive survey of past transactions, to clear up in his letters to Government any uncertainties or obscurities which his previous communications might have presented, and to draw up elaborate reports on the character of Runjeet Singh and the resources of his country,† but also to devote some time to his private correspondence. In the middle of November he had received the distressing intelligence of the death of his aunt Richardson, to whom he was deeply attached. Some letters written by him at this time to his afflicted uncle, and to his

from one — the Ministers being all eager to display before their master their zeal in the cause, their skill and acuteness; and the picture will completely represent the conference, which was preceded by a present of a horse from the Rajah's stable. There was little argument on either side. The subject had been repeatedly discussed, and nothing new remained to be said."

* At one of the conferences between Metcalfe and the Sikh Ministers, the latter had been asked whether he considered that Kurnal belonged to the British Government.

† There is an amusing passage in one of these reports relative to Runjeet's appreciation of artillery, and the means by which he contrived to scrape his ordnance together. "The Rajah's attachment to guns," wrote Metcalfe to Government, "and his opinion of their weight, are both so great, that he will never miss an opportunity of obtaining a gun. If he learns that there is a gun in any fort, he cannot rest until he has taken the fort to get at the gun, or until the gun has been given up to him to save the fort. He immediately dismounts the gun from the wall and drags it after him, as an addition to his field train. He boasted to me once, that he had made the Rajah of Puttealah give him a fine gun, which the Rajah wished to rescue for 20,000 rupees."

"dear and now, alas! only aunt," Mrs. Monson,* express the strength of his grief. He was eager at first to know, whether his "dear dear aunt in her illness ever thought of him? With her mind," he added, "occupied by thoughts of her children and her beloved sisters, I cannot expect that she did." But all thoughts of his own sorrows passed away as he dwelt on the sufferings of the husband and sister, and prayed that they might be comforted and sustained by Him, who alone has power to wipe away all tears from our eyes. "May the Ruler of all things," he wrote to his uncle, "give you patience and fortitude to support you under the heavy pressure. 'And now, Lord, what is my hope, truly my hope is even in thee. In the midst of life we are in death. Of whom may we seek succour but of thee, O Lord? Blessed are the dead who die in the Lord, for they rest from their labours.'"†

Whilst Metcalfe, thus halting at Gongrona, was dividing his thoughts between his public business and his private sorrows, Runjeet was extending his dominion over the more helpless of the Cis-Sutlej chiefs. Many of them, unequal to resistance, acknowledged that they were his subjects, that they held their possessions only by virtue of his grant, and contributed their guns to the Rajah's collection; whilst others obtained temporary immunity for

* Mrs. Richardson and the Hon. Mrs. Monson, then widow of Colonel Monson, of whom Charles Metcalfe said, "he was always an affectionate uncle and kind friend to me," were sisters of Lady Metcalfe.

† *November*, 1808, *Camp Gongrona.*—In this letter Metcalfe says: "If my mission should soon end, which is possible, I shall endeavor to join you at Banda to share your sadness."

themselves by aiding him in these acts of spoliation.* But he still had time to think of the British Mission, wrote courteous letters to Metcalfe, "evinced a desire to be friendly and conciliatory;"† and was sincerely desirous to protect the Mission against any inconvenience that might result from the turbulent character of the people surrounding their camp.‡ Before the end of November, the restless chief had sent back his infantry and his guns to Gongrona, and purposed, after a friendly interview with the Rajah of Puttealah, to make his way to Umritsur and Lahore, and there to rest himself in the lap of pleasure after the fatigues of war and the anxieties of public business.

* "Including," wrote Metcalfe to Government, "those chiefs who have attended him in this expedition, his sovereignty has been completely acknowledged by all the Sikh chiefs with two exceptions"—the Rajah of Puttealah and Thanesur.

† "Being informed that Gongrona was not a pleasant situation, he wrote to me," said Metcalfe, "in the most civil manner, to request that I would move to another place, which was ascertained to be better; but finding Gongrona sufficiently agreeable, I did not think it necessary to move."

‡ "It happened," wrote Metcalfe, "that in taking the air one evening I was fired upon from a village by mistake. This trivial circumstance was reported to the Rajah and magnified. In consequence, he gave orders to the commanders of his infantry and guns, on detaching them from Shuhabad on their return to the Punjab, to attend me, and wrote to me to desire that I would cause them to plunder and destroy any village that had behaved in a disrespectful manner. After thanking him for his kindness, I requested him to forgive a fault which had proceeded from inadvertency and the divided state of the country." This humane interference, however, had not at first the desired result. In a subsequent letter Metcalfe wrote: "The Rajah's infantry and guns have been at this place for some days. As they were sent by the Rajah for the avowed purpose of destroying certain villages which had been represented to him as having behaved in a disrespectful manner to me, I endeavored to prevent their advance, but did not succeed, as Kureem Singh, the possessor of the tents of Gongrona, had a strong interest in persuading them to come on. On their arrival I had some difficulty in preventing their attacking the villages. The commanders informed me that they had positive orders to plunder the villages, and put to death the inhabitants. I saw their instructions under the seal of Runjeet Singh giving orders for their guidance, and even laying down the plan of attack, and giving intelligence of the force that they might expect to be opposed to them. Fortunately, the Rajah had written other instructions desiring them to obey my orders, which have enabled me by positive commands and written injunctions to restrain them until the result of my reference to the Rajah may be known."

It was at this time that Metcalfe learnt the results of the deliberations which had been held in Calcutta at the close of the preceding month. The Chief Secretary communicated to him that Lord Minto had determined to resist Runjeet's efforts to subjugate the Cis-Sutlej States, and that henceforth these petty principalities were to be under British protection. The letter which announced this important intelligence was followed by a communication to the same effect to Runjeet himself, sent through the Delhi Resident, couched in the ordinary language of diplomatic flattery, but sufficiently unmistakeable in its import and decided in its tone. The ambitious Sikh was now called upon to arrest his career of conquest in the country between the Sutlej and the Jumna, and to surrender the places which he had recently wrested from the petty chiefs. But Metcalfe, still anxious to achieve the objects of his mission without violence, and believing that Runjeet was already on his way back to the capital, determined to delay the communication of the Governor-General's resolution, in the hope that the Rajah's withdrawal from the scene of his recent conquests might appear rather a spontaneous act upon his part than one forced upon him by the implied menaces of the British Government.* The uncertainty and

* *Mr. Metcalfe to Mr. Edmonstone, November* 27, 1808.—"When I received your instructions of the 31st of October, I had every reason to expect the instant return of Runjeet Singh to Lahore from his own communications to me, as well as from general opinion and actual appearances. His infantry and guns, which generally form his advanced guard, were encamped in this place, which is within a forced march from the Sutlej; and the Rajah himself was lightly equipped with the seeming and avowed intention of advancing. Under these circumstances, it appeared to me that if the Rajah should immediately re-cross the Sutlej with his army, and remove

the impulsiveness, which marked Runjeet's, conduct, rendered Metcalfe, however, sceptical of the real intentions of the Rajah; and doubting whether he would return immediately to his capital, he wrote to him that he desired an interview at Eesroo, which lay on the road to Umritsur. The request was readily granted, but before the appointed time Runjeet had once more changed his resolution. He was tired of business. He was eager again to enjoy the delights of the wine-cup and the Zenana. He had exchanged turbans as a token of amity with the Rajah of Puttealah; and he had now little else to do. So he wrote to Metcalfe proposing a meeting on the Sutlej. But before the British Envoy had reached the banks of the river, Runjeet had again changed his mind, and was moving in hot haste on the wings of love to Umritsur. His confidential physician-minister, Uzeezoodeen, was left behind to invite Metcalfe to follow him; and on the 10th of December the British Mission arrived at the holy city.*

his troops from all positions menacing to the safety and independence of the chiefs whom it is the intention of Government to protect, one of the most important objects of my instructions would be obtained without any immediate interruption of amicable negotiation, and time would be gained for the execution of the arrangements destined for the defence of this country."

* *Mr. Metcalfe to Mr. Edmonstone, December* 11, 1808.—"On the 29th ult. Runjeet Singh sent me a polite letter, informing me that he would be at Eesroo to meet me on the 1st of this month. On the day fixed I received a letter from him containing his excuses for not being at Eesroo; and proposing a meeting on the Sutlej. Before I reached that river he had continued his march with surprising rapidity to Umritsur, where he arrived almost unattended in two or three days. He left Uzeezoodeen to invite me to follow him to Umritsur. Runjeet Singh, in everything that he undertakes, is impatient; but the cause of his extraordinary impatience on this occasion was a desire to see his favorite mistress Marar, from whom he has been separated for nearly three months. In her arms he has been resting after the fatigues of his campaign."

The delay had not been without its uses. The instructions despatched to Metcalfe by the Supreme Government at the end of October, and the letter to Runjeet Singh sent through the Delhi Resident, had been of a more peremptory and decided character than Lord Minto upon further consideration considered it expedient to confirm. The letter to the Rajah had now been modified into a communication less menacing in tone, and containing a less undisguised exposition of the intentions of the British Government. And when Mr. Edmonstone forwarded a copy of it to Metcalfe, he wrote a private letter explaining to him Lord Minto's wishes regarding the future conduct of his negotiations:

MR. EDMONSTONE TO MR. METCALFE.

"Calcutta, November 7, 1808.

"My dear Sir,—Mr. Seton may perhaps have transmitted to you an English copy of a letter to Runjeet Singh, and have led you to expect instructions corresponding with the tenor of it. Further consideration, however, has suggested a change in some part of the proposed system of proceeding, and occasioned an alteration of the letter. I send you a copy in its amended form. Your instructions will follow speedily, and the letter itself. You will see that it is wished you should remain; and I will state in very few words what is intended. Government is satisfied that Runjeet Singh will never be the cordial friend of the British Government; an engagement with him for co-operation would be mere waste paper. His character, conduct, and views are such as to render it for our interest that his government were subverted. But we shall do nothing to promote that object. It would hardly be justifiable to do so; at the same time, it is desirable not to be embarrassed with engagements which might compel us to assist him against internal

rebellion. Our object must be at present to remain as free as possible without breaking with Runjeet. It is not, therefore, desirable to accelerate the negotiation. The longer it is kept in suspense the better; and on the plea of awaiting the result of your report to Government that he has withdrawn his army, disclaimed any interruption to the Cabul Mission, and treated you as an accredited Minister of a great State ought to be treated, you can properly and plausibly suspend the conclusion of engagements. Though I apprehend from your despatch No. 29, just received, that you may have gone too far under your former instructions to admit of this course.

"Troops will be sent to the frontier as was at first announced in the letter to Runjeet; but it is now thought best to suspend any notification to him of this arrangement, so you are to know nothing of these matters.

"As it may be of importance that you should know the general outline of the intended proceedings as soon as possible, I write this hurried letter, which will answer the purpose until the instructions can be completed.

"I remain, with great regard and esteem,

"Yours most sincerely,

"B. EDMONSTONE."

On the evening of his arrival at Umritsur, Metcalfe, taking with him the Governor-General's letter, visited Runjeet Singh. But the Rajah was in no mood for business. He was in the midst of a riotous career of self-indulgence. Instead of attending to the affairs of State which had called the British Envoy to his presence, he sent for his dancing-girls; and soon afterwards, the wonted strong drinks were introduced. In vain did Metcalfe call the attention of the Rajah to the business on which he had come; in vain did he speak of the Governor-General's letter of which he was the bearer. Runjeet was willing to

receive the letter, but he was not prepared to read it. "The evening was devoted to mirth and pleasure." The Rajah was in a genial humor—full of cordiality towards his English visitor; familiar in manner, friendly in speech. Metcalfe, with right diplomatic address, entered into the spirit of the scene, within the limits of becoming hilarity; and when he took his departure, it was obvious to him that the Rajah and his friends were "incapacitated for business."*

But Runjeet Singh, drinking and revelling with the unopened letter of the Governor-General beside him, was as a man singing and dancing upon a loaded mine. Whether he had any suspicion of its actual contents, and was disinclined to mar the pleasurable excitement of the life to which he had now temporarily abandoned himself, content to live in the rapture of the present moment, and to lull all corroding anxieties to rest, can be only matter of conjecture. But the morrow passed away, and still Metcalfe heard nothing of the effects of the letter. So he wrote the Rajah a note under his own hand, of which the following is a translation; a note giving no uncertain sound, but clearly and decisively stating the stage to which the discussion had now been brought, and the dangers which stared the Sikh in the face:

Note transmitted by Mr. Metcalfe to the Rajah of Lahore on 12th December, 1808.

"I duly communicated to the Right Honorable the Governor-General the proposition brought forward by the Maharajah respecting the country between the Sutlej and Jumna, and fully explained all the views of the Maha-rajah on that

* *Mr. Metcalfe to Mr. Edmonstone, December* 11, 1808.

point. I have now received his Lordship's commands to state his sentiments in reply.

"His Lordship has learned with great surprise and concern that the Maha-rajah aims at the subjection of chiefs who have long been considered under the protection of the power ruling in the north of Hindostan, and is more especially astonished to find that the Maha-rajah requires the assent of the British Government to the execution of this design.

"By the issue of a war with the Mahrattas, the British Government became possessed of the power and rights formerly exercised by that nation in the north of Hindostan.

"At that time the Maha-rajah had no claim on the country between the Sutlej and Jumna. In an early period of that contest a communication was received from the Maha-rajah by the late Lord Lake, which proposed to fix the Sutlej as the boundary between the British Government and his; which is a clear proof that the Maha-rajah in those days was well aware that the country in question was dependent on the power paramount in the north of Hindostan.

"Since the British Government has come into this situation, it has relieved the chiefs between the Sutlej and Jumna from tribute, and that degree of subserviency which they were used to pay to the Mahrattas, and has allowed them to carry on their own concerns without interference or control. But this liberality on the part of the British Government was meant for the benefit of these chiefs, not for their injury. It was never intended that the forbearance of the British Government should be taken advantage of by another power to oppress and subjugate those whom the British Government wished to protect and relieve.

"In reply, therefore, to the Maha-rajah's requisition, it is hereby declared that the British Government cannot consent that these chiefs should be subjugated by the Maha-rajah, or any other power; and it is hereby announced that those chiefs, according to established custom, are, and will remain, under the protection of the British Government.

"Exclusive of these considerations, which are sufficient to demonstrate the just principles by which the determination of the British Government is swayed, there are circumstances in the conduct of the Maha-rajah in bringing forward his proposal, which would, in any case, make it impossible to comply with it.

"The British Government sent an Envoy to the Maha-rajah to give him information of a great danger, and to offer the assistance of the British Government to repel it, and made certain propositions to the Maha-rajah, which were particularly calculated to promote his interests. The Maha-rajah, for reasons which are not discernible, did not receive those propositions with the same confidence and cordiality with which they were made, but in reply brought forward a demand for the assent of the British Government to the subjugation of chiefs connected with it, and made a compliance with that demand the condition of his assent to the friendly propositions of the Governor-General. It would be unworthy of the dignity of the British Government to comply with any demand so brought forward.

"Besides this, the Maha-rajah, instead of making a reference to the British Government on this subject, and waiting for a reply, proceeded to execute his intention of subjugating the chiefs, and taking the country which were the objects of the reference, thus apparently endeavoring to secure his object whether the reply should be favorable or not.

"In making the reference, the Maha-rajah showed that he well knew that without the consent of the British Government he had no right to invade the country between the Sutlej and the Jumna, for if this had not been the case, there would not have been any necessity to make the reference. It was, therefore, peculiarly inconsistent with the respect due to the British Government, and an improper return for the friendly confidence which that Government had reposed in the Maha-rajah, to proceed to seize the object of his requisition without so much as waiting for a reply.

"This is quite contrary to the established practice amongst states, which requires that when one power makes a reference

to another it should await the result of that reference. This principle is so clear, and according to the rules of common respect so indispensable, that it is surprising that the Maha-rajah should not have attended to it. I have repeatedly endeavored to impress it on the Maha-rajah's mind, but without success.

"Moreover, the Maha-rajah proceeded to execute his plans without giving any notice to me, and although he carried his arms close to the confines of the British territories, never made any candid communication to me of his designs, but sometimes even assigned a different intention from that which afterwards appeared.

"In addition to these circumstances, the Maha-rajah's behaviour towards me, the representative of the British Government, was in other points neither consistent with the respect due to a friendly state. The Maha-rajah will find in his own breast an explanation of this observation, and his recollection will point it to the facts which have caused it. It is unnecessary in this place to particularise them; suffice it to say that they constituted a violation of the rules established for the intercourse between states.

"Under all these circumstances, even if the Maha-rajah's demand had been in itself unexceptionable, it would have been impossible to comply with it.

"I am directed by the Right Hon. the Governor-General to protest against the invasion of the country between the Sutlej and the Jumna, in the name of the British Government; and further, to declare that the British Government cannot acknowledge any right in the Maha-rajah to any territories that he may have taken possession of situated between the Sutlej and the Jumna since the first reference of this question to the British Government.

"Moreover, the Governor-General feels himself authorised to expect, and entertains no doubt, that the Maha-rajah will restore all the places that he has taken possession of since that period to the former possessors, and will confine his army to the right bank of the Sutlej, since he can have no object in maintaining

it on the left bank, except to overawe and subjugate the chiefs situated between that river and the Jumna, who are now declared to be under the protection of the British Government.

"In expressing these sentiments, I am directed to inform the Maha-rajah that the British Government is desirous of maintaining the most amicable relations with his Government, and wishes that the friendship subsisting between the two states may daily improve and increase. The British Government desires no country for itself. It has enough, and its only ambition is to improve the territories which it possesses, and to promote the happiness of its subjects. It wishes to live in amity with all mankind. It cannot consent to the subjugation of chiefs who are closely connected with it, and have claims on it for protection. At the same time, it entertains the most friendly designs towards the Maha-rajah, with whom, notwithstanding the just causes of complaint which the Maha-rajah's conduct has afforded, it is anxious to cultivate the relations of intimate and cordial friendship.

"I trust that the Maha-rajah will duly appreciate the friendly sentiments of the Right Hon. the Governor-General, and meet them with reciprocal cordiality and confidence, so as to give an assurance that for the future the rights and privileges of the representative of the British Government shall be respected according to the established usage between states, and that the intercourse between the two Governments shall be carried on in the spirit of mutual confidence and friendship."

Of this unmistakeable communication Metcalfe's confidential moonshee was the bearer. It was soon apparent that the contents of the Governor-General's letter were utterly unknown to the Rajah, who on perusing the Envoy's note seemed to stagger under it, as though under the influence of a "sudden shock." But it was a shock of a salutary nature. It seemed to sober him. He spoke of the commu-

nication more humbly and more reasonably than, judging by his foregone behaviour, there was any ground to expect. He appeared sensible of the impropriety of his conduct towards the Mission, and believed, or pretended to believe, that the determination of the British Government had been forced upon it by his want of courtesy towards its representative, rather than by his bearing towards the petty states. And he indulged the hope that a more favorable reply to his demands would speedily be despatched to his Court.

The following day was fixed upon for an interview with the British Envoy, but it brought, after the old fashion, only excuses for delay. The Rajah had determined to proceed at once to Lahore, and he invited Metcalfe to accompany him. It was evidently Runjeet's object to gain time. Other thoughts were distracting his mind. There were dangers and difficulties bristling at his own door. He had hoped for a little while in the arms of his favorite mistress to forget all of royalty except its sensual delights. But that which was to have been to him only a source of refreshment and repose, became the exciting cause of unexpeeted trouble and alarm. His favorite was a Mussulmanee dancing-girl. It may have been in the plenitude of her Mahomedan zeal—or it may have been in the mere wantonness of power—that either by force or persuasion, she had recently converted a Hindoo to the faith of Islam, or at least subjected him to its external ritualities. The act, from whatever feeling it may have resulted, threw Umritsur into a ferment of excitement. The

shops of the holy city were closed. The priests of the great temple issued their manifestoes, and forbade the people, under a ban of excommunication, to open them and return to their wonted business. The houses of the Mussulmanee dancing-girls—in expiation of the offences of one of their tribe—were plundered by the outraged Hindoos. There was a great strife between the Temporal and the Spiritual power; and the former was worsted in the encounter. So Runjeet was fain to withdraw himself from the scene of turmoil, and to make his escape to Lahore.*

And thither Metcalfe speedily followed him. But the change of scene did not induce a change of conduct. Runjeet still maintained a cautious silence, and "found fresh excuses for delaying his answer to the demands that had been made upon him" by the British Government. At length, on the 17th of December, just as the Envoy was writing a letter, peremptorily calling upon the Rajah to declare his intentions without longer delay, a message of invitation came from the Sikh, and Metcalfe proceeded to his presence. But even then the old reserve was upon him. Runjeet appeared careworn and thoughtful, and little inclined to address himself to affairs of State. His troubles had followed him from Umritsur to Lahore. The Hindoos were thronging round the walls of his palace, and sitting *dhurna* at his gates.† He was ready, therefore, with more excuses, and eager for more delay. He told Metcalfe

* *Mr. Metcalfe to Mr. Edmonstone, December* 14, 1808.

† To sit "*dhurna*" is to sit in fasting and prayer at a man's door—an expressive kind of practical curse.

that "his attention had been much engaged by the disturbances at Umritsur and Lahore; that he had had to dismiss his chiefs and followers to their homes; that several of those with whom he was in the habit of consulting were absent, and that, to say the truth, after four months' campaigning he felt an inclination for some rest."* And all that Metcalfe, pressing him sorely, could extract from him was the old promise that he would see him, and make "a full communication on the following day."

But with the new day, after the old fashion, came new excuses. Runjeet's Ministers had tried to reconcile Metcalfe to the eccentricities of their chief; but the English gentleman had answered with becoming firmness that, although the eccentricities were sufficiently apparent, he could not admit that they furnished any justification for his conduct. In vain they pleaded that Runjeet had never been habituated to control—that flushed with continual success he had ever regarded himself, and himself alone, as the arbiter of his conduct—that he was a man of a headstrong and ungovernable nature, and that some allowances ought to be made for him. Metcalfe was not to be driven from the position he had taken up. The business in hand, he said, was an affair between two states, and no considerations of personal character should be admitted in justification of conduct which violated the rights and lowered the dignity of the Government which he

* *Mr. Metcalfe to Mr. Edmonstone, December* 18, 1808.

represented.* And he desired the Sikh Minister to inform his master that he was surprised at the repeated excuses he had received, and impatient of further delay. But in spite of this, on the following morning, Runjeet's confidential advisers again appeared before Metcalfe as the bearers of further excuses, and to request one more day's delay. Everything, they announced, was in train for the conclusion of the business, and now, at last, procrastination was at an end.† There was, indeed, no longer a pretext for evasion; and so, on the morning of the 20th of December, the long-delayed conference appeared to be on the point of accomplishment. But instead of meeting the Rajah himself, Metcalfe met only a large assembly of his councillors. There was a long and animated, but an unsatisfactory debate. The young

* The passages in Metcalfe's correspondence descriptive of this scene merit quotation. "I asked," he wrote to the Chief Secretary, "what explanation I should offer to my Government for the delay which had taken place on the part of the Rajah. Imaum-ood-deen begged me to bear in mind that the Rajah, from the earliest age, had been without control; that his disposition had, in consequence, become ungovernable; that he had throughout life acted according to his pleasure; that God had prospered all his undertakings; that he had acquired a habit of acting without reference to the inclination of others; and that allowances ought to be made for these considerations. I observed that the Rajah's eccentricities were evident enough, and that I had been often amused by them; that they would, indeed, be very entertaining if they did not interfere so much with important business; but that I could not state them to my Government to account for the Rajah's conduct, as any consideration for them would be inadmissible. The British Government, I remarked, could only judge of the Rajah by his acts, and if these were improper, could not think of justifying them by any reference to his education. I pressed upon the attention of Imaum-ood-deen that it was necessary for the Maha-rajah to reflect that every matter pending was between Government and Government; and that it was indispensable that he should lay aside the notion that he might act according to his own pleasure without regard to the rights and dignity of the British Government."

† One of the excuses advanced by Runjeet was founded on the absence of a councillor—Mith Singh—in whom he professed great faith. This man had been summoned to Lahore, and was now in attendance on the Rajah.

English statesman had a host of antagonists, but he was more than a match for them all. He told the Sikh chiefs that the plan which the British Government purposed to pursue was conceived in a friendly spirit, and to be prosecuted in a friendly manner; but that the determination which had been announced was fixed and irrevocable, and that it were well that this should be understood by their master.*

The object of this preliminary conference was plainly to sound Metcalfe. But the councillors retired carrying with them nothing that was likely to soothe the apprehensions of their chief. And when, at last, on the following day, the British Envoy met Runjeet himself, all that the wily Sikh could do was to repeat oft-refuted arguments, and to put unprofitable questions. The Rajah asked why we called upon him to withdraw from the left bank of the Sutlej—why we demanded that he should restore the places he had already captured? And Metcalfe answered plainly and firmly, with undeniable logic, that the British Government intended to take those princi-

* "I was pressed," wrote Metcalfe, "to say distinctly whether the demands of the British Government were meant to be made amicably or not. I replied that that question was answered by so many circumstances that I wondered it could be put. Why, I asked, was I here? Why had the Governor-General addressed a friendly letter to the Rajah? Why had I given in a long explanatory note? Why had the Maha-rajah expressed his satisfaction at the contents of these communications, and observed that friendly remonstrances could not be produced without regard? Of course I said the demands that I had presented were made with friendly intentions. In order to prevent the construction that might be assumed that my consent would be obtained to a protracted discussion of the respective rights of the British Government and the Rajah of Lahore to political supremacy in the country between the Jumna and the Sutlej, and to convince all present that it would be in vain to agitate that question, I declared decidedly that with respect to the demands that I had made I must persist in them, and could not relax in any degree: that the orders of my Government were final, and that I would not exercise any discretion."

palities under its protection—and how could they be protected when the Rajah threatened them with his armies, or had absolutely brought them under his rule? But still a decisive answer was not to be elicited. In general terms the Envoy was told that an arrangement would be made honorable to both nations; but Metcalfe saw plainly that no arrangement was likely to be made without an appeal to arms.

A crisis, indeed, was now fast approaching. It has been seen that the British Government had announced to Metcalfe its intention of moving forward a body of troops to take post upon the Sutlej. This announcement had not yet been made to Runjeet; but the time for a full revelation of our intentions seemed now to have arrived. It was doubtful, indeed, whether rumors of the threatened movement had not already reached the Sikh ruler, for he was collecting troops, seemingly in anticipation of a coming struggle. It appeared expedient, therefore, to Metcalfe to warn the military authorities of the probability of resistance being offered to the demands of the British Government. So he wrote the following letter to the Commander-in-Chief, setting forth the grounds on which he based his belief in the likelihood of a speedy collision:*

"*To his Excellency Lieutenant-General George Hewitt, Commander-in-Chief, &c., &c., &c.*

"Lahore, December 3, 1808.

"SIR,— . . . . It is known to your Excellency that the subjugation of the country between the Sutlej and the Jumna is the

* The commencement of the letter is omitted, as it contains only a recitation of facts with which the reader is already acquainted.

favorite object of the Rajah's ambition. His pride is so much concerned in maintaining that object, that I have no hesitation in offering it as my opinion that nothing but a conviction of the absolute impossibility of disputing the point with us with the smallest hope of success would induce him to assent to our demands.

"It must be supposed that that conviction is impressed on his mind, and it is difficult to conceive that he would be so rash as to encounter the perils of a contest with the British power.

"Several considerations, however, exist, in my opinion, to oppose the conclusion that he certainly will not offer resistance to our projected arrangements. His rooted jealousies will lead him to suspect that the arrangements which Government has now resolved to adopt are only preliminary to a more extensive design of conquest in the Punjab, and he may think it not more dangerous to be overcome in a struggle, than to submit quietly to the result, inevitable, perhaps, in his view of the increasing expansion of our influence. He may be induced, by his ideas of honor, to suppose that it will be more creditable to be reduced by a war with a superior power than to yield his favorite object without a struggle. His knowledge of the moderation of the British Government towards a fallen enemy may diminish in his sight the ultimate dangers of a contest; and a certain degree of confidence which he reposes in his fortune, and a belief in the infallibility of predestination, may afford some encouragement to his elated mind to incur the hazard of a war.

"The delay which he still makes does not appear to me to afford any certain indication of his disposition; because, although he might intend to assent ultimately to our demands, he would naturally wish to try the effects of procrastination and negotiation; and although he might be determined to resist them, he would still wish to gain time.

"I understand, however, that he has issued orders to collect troops; and under the circumstance of his delaying to make any satisfactory reply to our requisitions, this step, unaccompanied by any explanation, cannot bear any favorable interpretation.

Indeed, it appears to me to be offensive, and I shall think myself authorised to require an account of it. Even this measure, however, may proceed more from fear and suspicion than from a determination to oppose us.

"With reference to all the considerations stated in this despatch, I think it my duty to submit to your Excellency's notice my opinion that actual circumstances do not afford sufficient ground to entertain a confident expectation that Runjeet Singh will assent, without opposition, to the arrangements which Government has determined to adopt.

"I shall transmit to your Excellency the earliest intelligence of any decisive turn that may take place in the Rajah's conduct.

"I have not yet announced to him the resolution adopted by Government to advance a detachment towards the Sutlej; but I propose to make that communication this day, and perhaps the result of it will enable me to offer to your Excellency some more certain information.

"I have the honor to be, with great respect,

"Your Excellency's most obedient, humble servant,

"C. T. METCALFE."

Having despatched this letter, Metcalfe's next care was to intimate distinctly and decisively to Runjeet Singh that the British Government purposed, without further delay, to advance a military force to the banks of the Sutlej. The game was now nearly played out. On the 22nd of December the British Envoy and the Sikh Rajah were again face to face. The communication was made. Runjeet told his attendant chiefs to consider of the matter; and, under the influence of self-control such as he rarely exercised, fell into friendly conversation with the English gentleman. Several questions were asked concerning the British detachment—what would be its strength?—where it would be posted—

whether at Loodhianah, or what other place? To all of this Metcalfe answered, that the details of the movement were matters of future consideration. A hint from the consulting chiefs here drew the Rajah aside. A brief conversation between them ensued. Then Runjeet, having ordered Uzeezoodeen to state his opinions to the British Envoy, left the room, mounted his horse, and with what appeared to Metcalfe "surprising levity," began prancing about the court-yard of his residence.* There was good reason afterwards to think that this was less an indication of levity than of the strong feeling which was working within him.

Whilst Runjeet was caracolling about the court-yard, Uzeezoodeen delivered his master's message. It was not a conciliatory one; and it was not given in a conciliatory manner. The Rajah, he said, had flattered himself that the intercourse between the two states would be conducive to his welfare; but

* Metcalfe's words are: "On a hint from the party aside, the Rajah withdrew to join them; and after a consultation, sent them to me with a message, and proceeded himself with surprising levity to mount his horse and prance about the court-yard of his residence." I am the more particular in giving the exact words of the writer, inasmuch as that this story has been variously narrated, and has obtained, perhaps, a wider currency than any other incident in Metcalfe's life. The current version of the story is this, which I find in a leading article of the *Times* newspaper, written in December, 1839: "When these terms were propounded to him, Runjeet, after a short and futile attempt to overbear the British Ambassador, rushed out of an apartment, an elevated summer-room, in which the conference had taken place, and in an incredibly short space of time, Sir Charles Metcalfe saw him on horseback, at the head of his immediate suite, galloping in the most furious manner over the plain below. When he had thus digested his spleen he returned, and after telling the Envoy that he always took this extraordinary anodyne under extreme vexation, expressed his determination to submit implicitly to the requirements of the British Government." This story is so much more striking and picturesque than that which I have given in the text, that I have been really sorry to substitute the homelier version which I have found in Metcalfe's own handwriting, written on the day after the incident occurred.

instead of this, in reply to a friendly application, he had received a message of so extraordinary a nature, that he did not know what to make of it. What was the use, it was asked, of a small post on the Sutlej? — surely such a demonstration would not deter the French from advancing. To this Metcalfe replied, that all idea of deterring the French was out of the question—that he had made certain distinct propositions to the Rajah, and that he called for an answer equally distinct. The decided tone in which he spoke was not without its effect on the Sikh councillors. Runjeet had by this time dismounted and seated himself in another chamber, where Uzeezoodeen and his associates waited upon him with Metcalfe's message. What passed there can only be conjectured. The consultation was a long one; and when the Ministers returned, their bearing was strangely altered. They spoke now with an affable manner, and in a softened tone. They said that the plan of advancing a British detachment to the banks of the Sutlej would not be opposed by the Rajah, if it were done in concert with him, and in a friendly manner. The answer was, that if the requisitions of the British Government, from which the Envoy would on no account recede, were complied with, everything would be done in a friendly manner. Again the councillors sought the Rajah; and again, after a protracted consultation, they returned to the room where Metcalfe was quietly awaiting them. The answer they brought back was more satisfactory than he could have anticipated even in his most sanguine mo-

ments. The Rajah, they said, was confident of our friendly intentions, and agreed to all our proposals. "And so," wrote Metcalfe, "the demands that I had presented, respecting which I had not been able for a fortnight to procure the least answer, were now treated as if they were mere trifles with which there was not the smallest difficulty in complying."

But these were mere idle words—vague generalities meaning nothing. On the same evening a deputation waited on Metcalfe to inform him that the proposal to advance troops to the Sutlej was so extraordinary, that the Rajah could not give any definite answer to the requisitions of the British Government until he had consulted with his chiefs; that he therefore purposed to proceed on the following day to Umritsur; and that he requested the British Envoy to follow him there. At this, Metcalfe, wontedly so calm in his outward demeanor, fired up with becoming indignation. He thought, with the prophet of old, that he "did well to be angry." He denounced the conduct of the Rajah as mere trickery to gain time—trickery often repeated and now well understood. He declared that such conduct was disrespectful in the extreme to the British Government; that if the Rajah determined to march, in the midst of the negotiation, he could not control him; but that against such a proceeding he earnestly and indignantly protested.

The remonstrance was not without its effect. The precipitate movement to Umritsur was abandoned; and the negotiations were resumed. But there was still the old system of chicanery at work—still the

old excuses and the old delays. Foiled in his attempts either to overbear or over-reach Metcalfe in oral discussion, Runjeet now resorted to epistolary communication. First of all he attempted a compromise; but the young English statesman was resolute to submit to no half-measures. He called for the fulfilment of the requisitions of the British Government without stint or reservation; and his unshaken firmness ere long achieved the desired victory. Little by little, Runjeet, not without fresh displays of procrastination and evasion, yielded to the demands of the British Envoy. He saw that the announcement of the intended advance of a British detachment was not an empty menace. Metcalfe, it has been seen, was in communication with the Commander-in-Chief, whose head-quarters were in Saharunpore; and under instructions from his Excellency, a detachment had been ordered for service on the banks of the Sutlej. This detachment was placed under the command of the fittest man in the army that could have been nominated for the performance of such a duty. It was placed under the command of Colonel David Ochterlony. Early in January it was ordered to advance.

The first service to be performed by this force was the expulsion of the Sikh troops from Umballah, where a considerable body had been for some time posted. But the Rajah promised to withdraw his men to his own side of the river, and desired Metcalfe to consider it as done. But Performance, in this case as in others, lagged far behind Promise; and Metcalfe, weary of all this falsehood and fraud,

came to the determination that the time had come for his departure from Runjeet's Court, if the state of the military preparations on the frontier seemed to warrant so decided a step. But it was now the policy of both parties to temporise. Runjeet was collecting troops, and eager to gain time. General Hewitt was making his dispositions, and eager also to gain time. Metcalfe was recommended to temporise; and by delay the war was averted. Awed by the resolute bearing of his antagonists, the Sikh began slowly and reluctantly to fulfil the conditions demanded by the British Government. On the 6th of January, one of Runjeet's chiefs was despatched to Umballah to recall the troops posted there, and to make restitution of the place to its rightful owner.

In consequence of this, negotiations were resumed at Umritsur, to which place the Court and the Mission quietly proceeded in the middle of January. Presuming on what he had done in the way of concession, Runjeet demanded that now a treaty of general amity should be concluded. But Metcalfe pointed out that other conditions were yet to be fulfilled; that if Umballah were restored, Kheir and Fureed-kote were not; and that he demanded the cession of all the territory acquired since the arrival of the Mission. It would take long to tell how Runjeet promised and broke his promises; and how from day to day the restitution of these places was delayed; how the Sikh continued to demand a treaty, and how the British Envoy called for the fulfilment of the conditions necessary to the attainment of what he sought. The month of January

passed away; and the month of February passed away. Military preparations on both sides were advancing; but still Metcalfe remained at Runjeet's Court—still the negotiations appeared every morning to be approaching a favorable issue, and still every evening it was clear that these appearances had been most delusive.*

It was whilst affairs were in this state that an incident occurred which awakened Runjeet to a sense of the danger which he would incur by a collision with the British troops. At the end of February, the annual festival of the *Mohurrum* was celebrated by the Mahomedan sepoys of Metcalfe's escort. It is the custom of the followers of the Prophet to spend upon this great occasion considerable sums of money on the construction and decoration of gigantic cars, called Tazeeahs, which are paraded about for several days in a noisy, obtrusive manner, to the great delight of all true Mahomedans, who pride themselves upon the grandeur of the ceremony, and are little disposed to be stinted in their demonstrations. Now the Mussulman sepoys of Metcalfe's escort, according to the custom of their sect, made a

* Among other complaints that Runjeet made, was one to the effect that Metcalfe treated him like a Jageerdar (or pensioner). "He (Runjeet) observed (to Hafoozoodeen) on my note, that when he made any proposal, I replied that I had no authority; but when I brought forward my own proposals, I issued my commands to him as authoritatively as if he were only a Jageerdar."—"Considering," wrote Metcalfe, "the efforts which I have always made to conciliate the Rajah—considering the patience and forbearance which I have exercised from first to last in my communications with him—considering that I have been barely acquitted by my own Government of the fault of carrying moderation to a disgraceful length—and considering, moreover, that the late proceedings at this Court have put my patience to a severer trial than it had ever before undergone, I did not expect this charge from the Rajah."—[*Mr. Metcalfe to Mr. Edmonstone, January* 4, 1809.]

Tazeeah at the appointed time, and paraded it about, with the usual ceremonies, in the neighbourhood of the Mission camp. For three or four days this went on without interruption; and then Metcalfe was informed that the display of the Tazeeah gave great offence to the priests of the great temple of Umritsur. Had he known this before, he would have prohibited the celebration of the festival, however unpopular the prohibition might have been to all the Mahomedans in his camp. As it was—as the ceremonies were now nearly over—he contented himself with giving orders that they should be performed for the future in the most noiseless and unobtrusive manner, and that the Tazeeah should not be any more paraded about in public. All this was done in concert with Runjeet Singh, who condemned the bigotry of the priests; and it was hoped that no evil consequences would arise from this periodical display of Mahomedan zeal. "I did everything that could be done," said Metcalfe, reporting the circumstances to Government, "to prevent any offence being taken, except destroying the Tazeeah itself. That could not be done without exciting great indignation among the Mahomedans; and I had a right to expect that within the precincts of the British camp my attendants would be protected by the Government in the free exercise of their religion."

Still further to prevent the possibility of a collision, it was agreed between Metcalfe and Runjeet that the former should restrain the sepoys from going into the town, and the latter should prevent the people from entering the Mission camp. The

English gentleman performed his part of the compact; the Sikh ruler did not. On the morning of the 25th of February a party of religious fanatics—half-soldiers, half-devotees—known as Akalis, marched out of the town, with drums beating and colors flying, followed by a surging rabble, intent upon the plunder of the British Mission. As they neared our camp, the escort, headed by Captain Popham, was drawn up in front of it, whilst Metcalfe sent out some persons to parley with the excited Sikhs. Still, however, they continued to advance in the same menacing attitude, and presently opened a brisk fire on the British camp. It took immediate effect. Our men were dropping in the ranks. There was now no time to be lost. Popham proposed that he should advance upon his assailants; and with Metcalfe's sanction he attacked them. The movement was a spirited and a successful one. The Sikhs were soon flying in confusion, and seeking shelter under the walls of the town.

The disturbance was immediately known to Runjeet, who rode out to the British camp, and exerted himself to quell the tumult. But all his endeavors could not quiet the fanatics. A party of Akalis again assembled and marched out of the town, threatening another attack on the Mission. During the rest of the day, and all through the night, they continued in force upon the plain; so Runjeet sent out a body of his own troops to protect the British camp from further outrage. On the following day it was removed to a greater distance from the town, where it remained unplundered and unmolested,

whilst the ceremonies of the Mohurrum were prosecuted to the end in the quiet manner originally intended.

The blood that was shed upon this occasion was not shed in vain. Runjeet, who had before seen our sepoys in the exercise of mimic war, now saw them in the stern realities of action. He learnt, for the first time, what was their temper—what was their steadiness, what their discipline in actual warfare. This little handful of British soldiers had routed a vastly superior body of Sikhs; and Runjeet began to ask himself how, if the people of Hindostan, drilled in the English fashion, could do such things, the English themselves must fight; and how it would fare with him, if he were to meet many thousands of them on the banks of the Sutlej, supported by their far-reaching guns.

So, although this disturbance of course afforded a pretext for some further evasions and delays, Runjeet, beset by obstinate doubts and painful self-questionings, soon came to the conclusion that a war with the Feringhees was an event not much to be desired. But still it was not in the nature of the man to proceed to the performance of his past promises in a plain, straightforward manner. The old shifts, however, could not serve him much longer. Our military preparations were advancing; and already our attitude was an imposing one. Ochterlony had taken post on the Sutlej, and had issued a proclamation, declaring all the Sikh states upon the left bank of the river to be under British protection.*

* The proclamation bears date February 9, 1809.

A strong body of troops, under General St. Leger, was ready to move forward to his support. Nor was it only his confidence in these military preparations which, at this time, impelled Metcalfe to assume a bolder tone in all his negotiations. The great object for which he had been despatched to Lahore had now ceased to exist. The whirligig of Time had rendered an anti-Gallican alliance with the rulers of the Punjab a matter of small concern to the British-Indian Government.* It little mattered now whether Runjeet were our enemy or our friend. From the path of the British Envoy this change in the state of our European politics cleared away a jungle of difficulties and perplexities. He had now only to support the dignity of the great nation which he represented; and he was not slow to recommend the most decided measures, even to the extreme one of the invasion of the Punjab. It was with no small delight that he flung behind him the thought of all further compromises and concessions, and prepared to give the signal for the immediate commencement of war.

* These altered circumstances were duly announced to Runjeet. Writing, subsequently, a letter of recapitulation, Metcalfe said: "Immediately after I had the honor of receiving your despatch of the 23rd of January, I informed Runjeet Singh, at a conference which I had with him, that I had been instructed to intimate to him that authentic intelligence had been received of the French having suffered repeated defeats in Europe from his Majesty's armies and those of his allies; and of their being in embarrassments, which would render impracticable the prosecution of those hostile projects against this country, against which it was the object of my mission to provide—that, consequently, there was no necessity for the conclusion of the treaty which I had formerly proposed, or for any specific engagements between the two states, who were already bound by the relations of amity and friendship." The announcement had not much effect upon Runjeet. Metcalfe was obliged to acknowledge that "the Rajah did not express the disappointment which he had expected."

But awed by the proximity of an event which must have overwhelmed him in disaster and disgrace, and for ever checked his career of ambition, Runjeet was now fulfilling slowly and reluctantly the behests of the British Government. In the early part of March, Kheir was restored to its legitimate owners; and now the restitution of Fureed-kote alone remained. A series of incidents of the most trivial character delayed the accomplishment of this; but it was plain to Metcalfe that the Rajah really designed to fulfil his promise, though he was thwarted by the trickery or the contumacy of those who, perhaps, desired to embroil him in a war with the British. In January he had talked vauntingly of discussing the restitution of Fureed-kote with his chiefs, at the head of his army on the banks of the Sutlej. But he was now, in March, again abandoning himself to pleasure, and rather suffering by his remissness, than really designing or desiring, the delays which obstructed the fulfilment of his promise.

From this pleasant forgetfulness Metcalfe roused him by a missive, which flashed the sunlight into his sleeping face. "The Maha-rajah," he wrote to him on the 26th of March, "is revelling in delight in the Shalimar gardens, unmindful of the duties of Friendship. What Friendship requires is not done; nor is it doing. I entertained a great desire and hope that the relations of Friendship might be firmly established through my mediation. I have nothing now remaining in my power but to require leave to depart. I, therefore, in the name of the British Government, require my dismissal, and trust

that the Maha-rajah will furnish me with a proper escort to conduct me to the British armies, and prevent any aggression on the part of the Maha-rajah's army on the way."

To this Runjeet replied that the delights of the garden of Friendship far exceeded the delights of a garden of roses—that the demand of the British Envoy for an escort would certainly excite great surprise—and that what he desired should immediately be done. And steps were certainly taken to do it. But just at the point of consummation, new difficulties supervened. A dispute arose about the grain in the fort; and the party sent to hand over the place to its old legitimate owners, retired without accomplishing their object. But Runjeet saw that any further obstructions would work grievously to his detriment. Metcalfe had written to General St. Leger desiring him to expel the occupants of Fureed-kote, and hinted to the Rajah that there was yet time to prevent this display of force. Throughout the whole of these protracted negotiations, no such potential argument had been used, though Runjeet now protested against it. "I must observe," he wrote with a hypocritical *naïveté* which is very diverting, "that when matters are settled in an amicable and friendly way, to talk of armies and such things is neither necessary nor pleasing to my friendly disposition." But the "talk of armies" effected at once what might, by dallying in the "garden of Friendship," have been long delayed; and on the 5th of April, Metcalfe wrote to the Chief Secretary, "I have the honor to inform you, that

Fureed-kote was finally surrendered to the right owners on the 2nd instant."

So now, after long delays and repeated evasions—after a systematic display of the most pitiful tortuosity, which now excited the anger and now the contempt of Metcalfe, and rendered necessary the exercise not only of consummate ability and address, but of the highest patience and forbearance—all that the British Government demanded was done by the Sikh ruler. And then came the question of the treaty. Whilst on the banks of the Sutlej time was being wasted in the manufacture of difficulties about the surrender of Fureed-kote, on the banks of the Hooghly Lord Minto and his councillors were discussing the expediency of concluding engagements of general amity with Runjeet Singh. At first it seemed advisable to them, now that the danger of European invasion had passed away, not to encumber the Government with any treaties which might embarrass their future proceedings. But they subsequently considered, that in the event of all our requisitions being complied with by the Sikh chief, it might be in some sort an act of justice to him to grant the treaty which Metcalfe had led him to expect, and which he urged the Supreme Government to allow;* whilst at the same time, no great harm could result from it if it were unencumbered with

* This intention was first announced to Metcalfe in a private letter from Mr. Edmonstone, dated March 14, 1809: "Your letter of the 15th of February was received on the 11th, and it was yesterday resolved to grant a treaty to Runjeet Singh of general amity, containing, however, some conditions respecting his troops on this side the Sutlej. I had occasion to draw up a Memorandum on the subject, and to state in substance the same arguments which I found so ably stated in your letter No. 69, which did not arrive till to-day."

inconvenient details. In accordance with these more mature considerations, instructions were sent on the 13th of March to the British Envoy, giving him authority to conclude a treaty with the Rajah, and forwarding to him the following draft:

"*Draft of a Treaty between the British Government and the Rajah of Lahore.*

"Whereas certain differences which had arisen between the British Government and the Rajah of Lahore have been happily and amicably adjusted, and both parties being anxious to maintain the relations of perfect amity and concord, the following articles of treaty, which shall be binding on the heirs and successors of the two parties, have been concluded, by the agency of C. T. Metcalfe, Esq., on the part of the British Government, and of [ ], on the part of Rajah Runjeet Singh.*

"Art. 1. Perpetual friendship shall subsist between the British Government and the State of Lahore; the latter shall be considered, with respect to the former, to be on the footing of the most favored powers, and the British Government will have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Rajah to the northward of the river Sutlej.†

"Art. 2. The Rajah will never maintain in the territory *which he occupies* [occupied by him and his dependents]‡ on the left bank of the river Sutlej more troops than are necessary for the internal duties of that territory, nor commit or suffer any

* In the preamble of the ratified treaty it runs: "By Rajah Runjeet Singh on his own part, and by the agency of Charles Theophilus Metcalfe, Esquire, on the part of the British Government."

† In the original draft of the treaty in Mr. Edmonstone's handwriting, there is this addition to the first article: "And on the other hand the Rajah renounces all claims to sovereignty over the Sikh chiefs to the southward of that river, and all right of interference in their concerns." But this passage was subsequently erased; it was of too general a character; for the Rajah, as the next article intimates, still held certain tracts of territory, acquired before the arrival of the Mission, on the left or southern bank of the Sutlej.

‡ The words in brackets were inserted by Metcalfe in the place of those printed in italics.

encroachments on the possessions or rights of the chiefs in its vicinity.

"Art. 3. In the event of a violation of any of the preceding articles, or of a departure from the rules of friendship [on the part of either state],* this treaty shall be considered to be null and void.

"Art. 4. This treaty, consisting of four articles, having been settled and concluded at [ ], on the [ ] day of [ ],† Mr. C. T. Metcalfe has delivered to the Rajah of Lahore a copy of the same in English and Persian, under his seal and signature, and the Rajah has delivered another copy of the same under his seal and signature, and Mr. C. T. Metcalfe engages to procure, within the space of two months, a copy of the same duly ratified by the Right Honorable the Governor-General in Council, on the receipt of which by the Rajah the present treaty shall be deemed complete and binding on both parties, and the copy of it now delivered to the Rajah shall be returned.

"N. B. EDMONSTONE,
"Chief Secretary."

On the receipt of this draft, all his demands having by this time been complied with, Metcalfe informed the Rajah that he was prepared to conclude a treaty of general amity with him. Runjeet received the announcement with undisguised delight. The treaty, he said, would silence and shame those who had been endeavoring to persuade him that the British Government entertained hostile designs against the Sikh territories. There was no room now for any further chicanery. Runjeet had nothing

* These words were inserted by Metcalfe at the request of the suspicious Rajah. It is remarkable that Cuningham, in his history of the Sikhs, gives the treaty, as ratified, without Metcalfe's insertions, which Government approved and adopted.

† At Umritsur, on the 25th of Feb.

to gain by delay; so on the 25th of April, 1809, this treaty was concluded at Umritsur; the blanks in the descriptive title being filled up with the name of Runjeet Singh himself.

The business of the Mission was now fully accomplished;* so Metcalfe prepared to return to the British provinces. "I have this day," he wrote on the 2nd of May, "made my first march from Umritsur towards the British territories, having finally taken leave of Runjeet Singh. The departure of the Mission took place with every essential mark of attention and respect on the part of the Rajah. He visited me on the 28th ultimo, and received an entertainment at my tents preparatory to our separation. I visited him on the 30th, accompanied by the gentlemen attached to the Mission, and took leave publicly with the usual ceremonies. Both these meetings were convivial and pleasant; and the Rajah's behaviour was particularly friendly and agreeable. At his particular request I remained yesterday at Um-

* It may be mentioned here that Government had originally intended that the advanced detachment should be withdrawn from the banks of the Sutlej. But on the earnest representations both of Metcalfe and Ochterlony the occupation of Loodhianah was continued, and from that time it became a frontier post. It may be doubted, however, whether this would have happened but for an accidental circumstance which caused Government to delay the withdrawal of the troops. Writing to Metcalfe privately on the 28th of May, Mr. Edmonstone says: "We have heard of the defeat of the King of Cabul's army in Cashmere, and anticipated Mr. Elphinstone's awkward situation. You will learn from Mr. Seton what has been done at Peshawur, and what has been ordered. This is an unfortunate turn of affairs, but the advantages of the Mission will not have been entirely lost. I have written officially to head-quarters about leaving the detachment at Loodhianah until Elphinstone shall have passed, as its presence may possibly countenance his journey through the Punjab; although I should think the Commander-in-Chief would not remove the post until he heard of the ratification of the treaty, notwithstanding the intimation contained in my last letter that the conclusion of the treaty would afford a favorable opportunity for the removal of the detachment."—[*MS. Correspondence.*]

ritsur, and saw him once more in a private interview, at which his conversation was principally composed of expressions of anxiety for the permanent maintenance of friendship between the two states."

At this time Runjeet Singh was in the very flush and vigor of life. He lived for thirty years afterwards; but the treaty which he and Metcalfe signed at Umritsur was never violated during his supremacy in the Punjab either by the English or the Sikhs. For a little while doubts and misgivings on either side may have overshadowed the relations subsisting between them; but confidence was soon established, and Runjeet learnt to respect the nation which could send forth such representatives as the youthful Envoy who had measured himself with him so bravely and so cunningly during the six months spent at his Court. It is hard to say in how great a degree the long peace, which was maintained between two warlike and extending states in provocatory proximity to each other, is to be attributed to the firmness and address so conspicuous in the dealings of young Metcalfe with the wily and unscrupulous ruler of the Sikhs. But it would be impossible to read this account of the first Mission to Lahore, imperfectly as it sets forth all its incidents,*

* The contents of this chapter are derived from a vast mass of correspondence, which might have filled some volumes, principally Metcalfe's narrative letters, by no means diffusely written—and although this chapter has extended to a length which is disproportionate to the space of time over which the history extends, I have been compelled to exclude much which would have illustrated both the difficulties of Metcalfe's position, the address with which he encountered them, and the strange character and conduct of the man who, perhaps of all the princes and chiefs of India, made the name most familiar to English ears. It was during these six

without appreciating the difficulties with which he had to contend, and the consummate ability with which he overcame them. He had numbered at this time but twenty-three years. Yet the dreams of the Eton cloisters were already realised. He had "prescribed terms;" he had "concluded a peace."* What would he have accomplished at this stage of his career if he had returned to England, and entered "Lord Grenville's office?"

It need hardly be added, that Metcalfe's conduct at Lahore was approved and applauded by his employers. He was sustained and encouraged throughout by the praises of the Supreme Government, conveyed to him in the letters of the Chief Secretary; and he said that he was abundantly rewarded. In private and public letters alike, his zeal and ability were warmly commended. One sample of each will suffice. Writing privately to Metcalfe on the 27th of December, Mr. Edmonstone said, "I can add nothing material to the expressions already conveyed to you in an official form of the favorable sentiments which Government entertains of your general conduct in a situation perhaps as delicate, difficult, and responsible as any public agent was ever placed in. I can assure you that Government is perfectly satisfied of the difficulties and embarrassments which encompassed you, and admits that the course of conduct which you pursued was countenanced by the spirit of your instructions. . . . . Upon the whole,

memorable months that Metcalfe's reputation was made. This was, indeed, the turning-point of his career. He went afterwards straight on to Fame and Fortune. And the biographer can hardly, therefore, lay too great a stress on such a passage of his life.

* See *ante*, page 62.

your mind may enjoy all the satisfaction—a satisfaction which you, indeed, must amply merit, that can arise from the conviction that Government entertains the highest opinion of your zeal, ability, judgment, and exertions." And when the work was done and the treaty was exchanged, these commendations took official shape, and, taking a retrospect of all the past circumstances of the Mission, the same high functionary thus finally announced to the departing Envoy the admiration with which the Supreme Government contemplated his entire conduct: "During the course of your arduous ministry at the Court of Lahore, the Governor-General in Council has repeatedly had occasion to record his testimony of your zeal, ability, and address in the execution of the duties committed to your charge. His Lordship in Council, however, deems it an obligation of justice, at the close of your mission, generally to declare the high sense which he entertains of the distinguished merit of your services and exertions in a situation of more than ordinary importance, difficulty, and responsibility, to convey to you the assurance of his high approbation, and to signify to you that the general tenor of your conduct in the arduous negotiations in which you have been engaged has established a peculiar claim to public applause, respect, and esteem."

CHAPTER IX.

[1809—1811.]

TRANSITION YEARS.

Approbation of Lord Minto—Metcalfe's Visit to the Presidency—Meeting with his Brother—Appointment to the Deputy-Secretaryship—Voyage to Madras—Return to Calcutta—Appointment to the Residency at Scindiah's Court—Letters from Lord Minto and Mr. Edmonstone—Translation to the Delhi Residency—The Foundation of Charles Metcalfe's Fortune.

THE admiration which Charles Metcalfe's conduct at the Sikh Court had excited in the breast of the Governor-General was not now to be suffered to expend itself in a few stereotyped phrases of official commendation. It was not a mere formal demonstration; it was a living reality, and was likely to become an abiding one. Lord Minto desired to know the man who had done such great things for his government. He was interested in the personal character of the young statesman, and was eager to communicate with him face to face. So it happened that Metcalfe had scarcely reached his old home at Delhi, when a private letter from the Chief Secretary came with the intimation that the Governor-General desired to see him at the Presidency. "I am autho-

rised to inform you," wrote Mr. Edmonstone, "that you are perfectly at liberty to proceed to Calcutta. The Governor-General, indeed, is desirous of being personally acquainted with you, and of having an opportunity of conversing with you on the affairs in which you have been so long and arduously engaged. But it will be proper that you should apply officially for leave to come to the Presidency. You need not, however, await the answer. This intimation you may consider as sufficient authority. Favor me with a line of application on your receipt of this, and set off as soon as it may suit your convenience."* Little time was lost after the receipt of this letter; Metcalfe was soon upon his way to Calcutta. There were others whom he desired to see there beside the noble Lord at the head of the Government. Theophilus Metcalfe, with his wife and little daughter, had come round from China to Calcutta in the early part of the year, for the benefit of Mrs. Metcalfe's health, and Charles was eager now to embrace his brother and sister and make the acquaintance of his little niece. Public and private considerations, therefore, both urged him to make all speed to the Presidency. He had reached Delhi on his return from the Punjab on the 6th of June. The 8th of July found him in Calcutta.

But before the journey had been accomplished Lord Minto had ceased to disturb himself about the countries lying between the banks of the Sutlej and the base of the Hindoo-Koosh. Dangers more press-

* *MS. Correspondence, Calcutta, May* 28, 1809.

ing and more palpable than any that had been looked for in the direction of Central Asia, were now threatening the British-Indian Government from the southern part of the Indian peninsula. The Coast army was in a state of feverish excitement —almost, indeed, upon the borders of absolute rebellion. It was not a revolt of the soldiers, but of the officers of the Madras army. The abolition of certain privileges by which the higher grades of the service had been long suffered to enrich themselves, had caused great dissatisfaction, which subsequent circumstances had aggravated, until the civil and military authorities were in a state of open and violent antagonism. The power of the Governor, Sir George Barlow, was set at naught; seditious meetings were held; inflammatory resolutions were passed; and the entire government of the Presidency, under the convulsions that had arisen, seemed to be hovering upon the extreme verge of dissolution.

In this state of affairs, it appeared to Lord Minto that his presence upon the scene of these disturbances was necessary to their extinction. So he determined at once to proceed to Madras. But he did not forget Charles Metcalfe, whom he had invited to visit him in Calcutta. It occurred to the Governor-General that he could not, upon this painful expedition to the Coast, take with him any one more likely to be of service to him than the sometime Envoy to Lahore. So, on the 15th of July, the Chief Secretary wrote to Metcalfe that the Governor-General in Council had been "pleased to

appoint him Deputy-Secretary to the Right Honorable the Governor-General during his Lordship's absence from the Presidency."*

After a brief sojourn in Calcutta, rendered interesting to him by the presence of Theophilus and his family, Charles Metcalfe, accompanying Mr. Edmonstone, left the Presidency on the 5th of August, to proceed down the river to join his ship. On the 9th, the Governor-General embarked. The voyage from Calcutta to Madras occupies a week or a month, according to the season. In the month of August, when a vessel bound for the southern coast meets the south-west Monsoon in the Bay of Bengal, the passage is seldom made under the latter period of time. So it was not until the 11th of September that, after a tedious, zig-zag voyage, rendered comfortless by continual rain and baffling winds, Lord Minto was enabled to announce his arrival at Madras.

Of this visit to the Southern Presidency the records are but scanty. The ministerial capacity in which Charles Metcalfe acted at this time afforded no opportunities for independent action, and the incidents of the Madras disturbances of 1809 scarcely belong to the career of the Bengal civilian. His residence on the Coast was not distasteful to him. "You know Madras well," he wrote to his aunt, Mrs. Monson, on the 13th of November. "In some respects I like it better than Calcutta." He appears

* His salary was fixed at 2000 rupees a month—the same amount that he had drawn on the Lahore Mission.

to have spent some time in Mr. Cassamajor's house,* and to have greatly enjoyed the society of a family that has never been wanting in amiable and attractive members. At the close of the year he visited Mysore;† and at the commencement of 1810, having returned to Madras, he received the afflicting intelligence of the death of his sister-in-law, to whom he was sincerely attached. "Poor Theophilus," he wrote on the 10th of February from the Ameer-baugh, where he was residing with the Governor-General, "has lost his darling wife, who was really one of the most sensible, the most amiable, the most virtuous of women. I received accounts of this afflicting event about a month ago. Theophilus goes home with his sweet little daughter, and will be with you almost as soon as this letter." There was no more observable, as there was no more beautiful trait in Charles Metcalfe's character, from very early boyhood to the close of his career, than the depth of his sympathies—

> He could afford to suffer
> With those whom he saw suffer.

And when he wrote strongly of the afflictions of others, it was because he felt them strongly himself.

On the 12th of May, Lord Minto held a farewell

* Mr. Cassamajor was at this time a member of the Madras Council.

† He went there, I believe, to visit his old friend Arthur Cole. I have before me a letter from Lord Minto to Metcalfe, dated "Madras, December 14, 1809," and endorsed, "Answered from Mysore, December, 1809." In this letter the Governor-General says: "I hope you have by this time afforded another proof of your diplomatic powers by making my peace with Mr. Cole, and that he will not have proved implacable in the hands of one who gained the tender affections of Runjeet Singh."

levee at the Ameerbaugh, and afterwards crossed the surf, with his suite, on his way to the *Modeste* frigate, which was to convey him to Calcutta.* The Monsoon was now all in his favor, and after a pleasant passage of a week's duration, he ascended the steps of the Chandpaul Ghat, the chief landing-place of Calcutta, and was welcomed back by the members of council and the chief officers of the staff. A very few days after this, Charles Metcalfe left Calcutta by dawk, on his way to Banda, whence he was to take the shortest route to Scindiah's camp. He had been appointed to act as Resident at the Court of Dowlut Rao Scindiah, in the place of Mr. Græme Mercer, who had signified his wish to be relieved from the duties of his office, in order that he might proceed to England by the first ship of the ensuing season.

It was with no great elation of spirit that Metcalfe travelled northward to join his appointment. And there was nothing in the environments of the Residency to give him pleasure after his arrival. It is true that he had not now, as ten years before, to pitch his camp upon a plain, sickly with the foul odour of decaying corpses. The Court had recently been removed from Oujein to Gwalior; and the times were as pacific as they are ever wont to be in native states, where domestic anarchy is so often the succedaneum for foreign war. Whether it were that there was nothing in the state of public affairs to evoke his energies, or whether there were any per-

* It would appear, however, from a memorandum in a private account-book which I have chanced upon since this was written, that Metcalfe left Madras on the 8th, and reached Calcutta on the 15th of May.

sonal circumstances which rendered his situation disagreeable to him, I do not distinctly know; but he spoke of it with evident distaste in his letters to his family, and all his after-references to it were in the same strain.*

But this second residence at Scindiah's Court was not destined to be of long continuance. At the commencement of the following year—1811—an opportunity, of which Lord Minto was eager to avail himself, occurred for the translation of Charles Metcalfe to the Delhi Residency. A Governor was to be found for Prince of Wales' Island, and the appointment was offered to Mr. Seton. In anticipation of his acceptance of it, the Governor-General wrote the following letter, in a style of pleasant familiarity, more complimentary to the recipient than if it had been couched in language of the most labored panegyric:

LORD MINTO TO MR. METCALFE.

"Calcutta, February 20, 1811.

"MY DEAR SIR,—You may possibly have already heard, although it is yet in the Secret Department, that an offer has been made to Mr. Seton of the government of Prince of Wales' Island; and although it might be thought that he would consider his present situation the most eligible of the two, I have some reasons for supposing that he will be inclined to accept the proposal. In that event, I shall with (or without) your

* Of the eight or nine months which Metcalfe spent at Scindiah's Court in 1810–11, the records are remarkably scanty in comparison with those which illustrate all the antecedent and all the subsequent epochs of his life. The deficiency is, however, of but slight importance; for he was then merely in a transition-state, and nothing occurred which had any noticeable influence either upon his character or his career.

consent, name you to the Residency of Delhi. I know your martial genius and your love of camps; but besides that inclination must yield to duty, this change will appear to fall in not inopportunely with some information and some sentiments conveyed in your letter to me of the 3rd instant. If you ask my reasons for so extraordinary a choice, I can only say that, notwithstanding your entire ignorance of everything connected with the business of Delhi—a city which, I believe, you never saw; and with Cis and Trans-Sutlejean affairs, of which you can have only read; and notwithstanding your equal deficiency in all other more general qualifications, I cannot find a better name in the list of the Company's servants; and hope, therefore, for your indulgence on the occasion.

"I fancy that you must have given me a sly bite, for I am going campaigning myself, and expect to embark about the 3rd or 4th of March for Java, touching at Madras, where I hope to get on board the *Modeste*. It is so difficult to anticipate the important, but delicate points likely to arise in the prosecution of this enterprise, and it would be so impossible to decide them satisfactorily without information, which cannot be obtained at a distance, that I am satisfied I should acquit myself imperfectly of this duty, if I did not approach, or rather convey myself to the very scene of action. My absence cannot be shorter than six months, and may be somewhat more. . . .

"Believe me ever, my dear sir,

"Most sincerely and affectionately yours,

"MINTO."

After the lapse of a few days, in the interval of which Mr. Seton's answer had been received, Lord Minto wrote again to Charles Metcalfe on the subject of the Delhi Residency, in a graver and more business-like style:

LORD MINTO TO CHARLES METCALFE.

"Calcutta, February 26, 1811.

"My dear Sir,—I have received Mr. Seton's answer. He accepts the government of Prince of Wales' Island *with the proviso* that the appointment is to be considered temporary, and that he shall be at liberty to return to Delhi when the particular emergency which now invites him to the eastward shall have passed away. That emergency is the proposed conquest of the Dutch settlements in Java. But I conceive the services of Mr. Seton at Prince of Wales' Island will continue to be very important some time after the object has been accomplished at Java; for, considering the great distance of Calcutta, I confess I should wish, that whoever is charged with the administration of our new territories, should have the benefit of communicating intermediately with Mr. Seton, and obtaining such advice as his on the many novel and delicate affairs likely to arise in the first period of our connexion with a new and extensive country. I should, therefore, conjecture, that he may be absent from Delhi at least one year. I dwell upon these circumstances, as you will perceive that they affect your situation, and that your appointment to Delhi cannot be depended upon as so permanent as I understood it was likely to be at the date of my last letter. I trust, however, that you will feel no disinclination to accept it under the circumstances which I have described. I am anxious that the temporary nature of the arrangement should be known to the parties alone who are concerned—I mean to Mr. Seton, and the few whose new appointments must be understood by themselves to be temporary. I propose that, in the event of Mr. Seton's return to Delhi, you should resume your present mission; that your successor (Richard Strachey) should return to the Foreign Settlements, and so on; with the condition, however, that if anything more eligible than your present office should open during the interval,

it shall be reserved for you, if no particular obstacle should stand in the way.

"As I propose to sail on the 7th of March, if possible, and your answer to this letter cannot be received at Calcutta so soon, I shall leave your appointment at Delhi behind me, to be published when your acceptance arrives. It will be absolute, as you collect from this letter, in form; and nothing conditional or provisional will appear upon the face of it. If Mr. Seton should return, it will be time enough to explain the particulars which attended your appointment.

"I have now to thank you, my dear sir, for your friendly felicitations on the reduction of the French Islands; and being assured, as I am, of their sincerity, I hope you will believe that your kind concern in these events and in any influence they may have upon my credit, is, next to the public benefit, one of the greatest and most sensible pleasures I experience on the occasion.

"Believe me ever, my dear sir,

"Sincerely and affectionately yours,

"MINTO."

The offer was accepted. But the acceptance had been already assumed; and before Metcalfe's answer was received, he had been formally appointed to act as Resident at Delhi. And now the Chief Secretary congratulated him on the distinction, and intimated his belief, that the new incumbent would soon be permanently appointed to the honorable post:

MR. EDMONSTONE TO MR. METCALFE.

"Calcutta, March 22, 1811.

"MY DEAR METCALFE, — I am just favored with your letter of the 10th instant. You will have found that your acceptance of the Residency at Delhi has been presumed. His Lordship, indeed, did not inform me that your appoint-

ment was to be suspended until the arrival of a reply to his proposition. I congratulate you sincerely on this highly proper and merited distinction. You are, of course, aware, that Seton is to be allowed to resume his place; but by your present appointment you have got a *lien* upon it, which must secure your future permanent succession; and that, too, at no great distance of time; for Seton will not certainly remain long in the country. I join you in congratulations on our success at the Mauritius. The expedition to the eastward is in forwardness. But the season is against us; and it will be months before we can reach the place. Although our work is slow, I trust, however, it is sure. . . .

"Most sincerely yours,

"N. B. EDMONSTONE."

So Charles Metcalfe proceeded to Delhi,* and Mr. Strachey, who had accompanied Elphinstone's mission in the capacity of Secretary, was appointed Resident at Scindiah's Court.

It was during the period embraced in this brief chapter, that Charles Metcalfe laid the foundation of the fortune which he subsequently amassed. Whilst

* The grounds of Metcalfe's selection for this important post were stated officially by Lord Minto in a minute, which he recorded under date Feb. 25, 1811, and in which, after speaking of Mr. Seton's eminent services, he says:

"I should be unwilling to withdraw Mr. Seton from the duties of the Residency at Delhi which he has discharged with such distinguished ability and success, and with such eminent advantage to the public, if I were not convinced that the gentleman whom I propose to be his successor possesses qualifications which bear a strong affinity to those of Mr. Seton, and that under his superintendence our important interests in that quarter will continue to be conducted with undiminished success.

"The gentleman whom I propose for the situation is Mr. Metcalfe. His long personal experience and agency in the political concerns of that quarter, especially in the affairs of Lahore, and in the actual duties of the Residency, combined with his approved talents, judgment, and discretion, his conciliatory manners and firmness of character, qualify him in a peculiar degree to be the successor to Mr. Seton; and I am persuaded that the charge of the extensive and important affairs of that Residency could not be transferred to more able and efficient hands."

at Madras, not being overwhelmed with business, he determined to begin keeping accounts of his pecuniary transactions, with undeviating regularity—and he determined, moreover, to save money. With such "good intentions" as these, the hell of financial embarrassment is too frequently paved. All men at some period of their lives make these wise resolutions; but few have constancy to keep them. From this time, however, Charles Metcalfe kept, I believe without intermission, a minute account of his receipts and disbursements. He was the most liberal and most generous of men—but he died in possession of a fortune which would have creditably sustained the peerage he had won.

At the beginning of 1810, when he had just completed his twenty-fifth year, he wrote on one of the first pages of a new account-book—"I commence this account with a determination to lay by, henceforth for ever, a sum equal to 100*l.* per mensem, to lay the foundation of a fortune. I have 2000 rupees per mensem. I find by calculation, that my expenses are at present 1200 rupees per mensem,* and I mean to save 800=100*l.*" The system which he adopted was a very simple and intelligible one; and it is curious to trace its working. "It is my intention," he wrote, "at the end of every month to enter a report on the result displayed by the accounts of

* To account for this expenditure, which is by no means inconsiderable when it is remembered that Charles Metcalfe was a single man, and a member, I presume, of Lord Minto's family at the time, I should mention what he himself has recorded, that he had left "an establishment of servants at Calcutta and another at Delhi." He had been unwilling that his dependents should suffer by his absence, and still retained many of them in his pay.

that month, in order that I may see how far the plan I have laid down for myself succeeds. Now, therefore, I proceed to the Financial Report for the month of February. The amount expended in this month is as follows. . . . . But before I note it down, I will lay down an outline of my plan for the examination of the result of each month. I take first the amount of my salary, which is at present 2000 rupees. From this I deduct the amount of all expenses that I am aware of having occurred. From the balance then left I deduct 100*l.*, or 800 rupees, to form a fund which is to make my fortune, and which I will term the 'Accumulating Fund.' The amount which remains after these deductions is to form a fund for contingent expenses, which I will call the 'Contingent Fund.' If the Contingent Fund increases, and is more than equal to meet all the demands that may come upon it, then I may consider my finances to be in a very prosperous state; and when it is safe to do so, I may apply the surplus of the Contingent Fund as an increase to the Accumulating Fund. On the other hand, if the Contingent Fund should be unequal to meet the demands upon it, then I must of necessity draw upon the Accumulating Fund, and my scheme will have failed."

For the first two or three months the result was satisfactory. He regularly set aside the stipulated 100*l.* for the Accumulating Fund, and at the end of March he found that he had 982 rupees, or something more than 100*l.* in the Contingent Fund. So he wrote in his account-book, under date April 1,

"The account for March presents a favorable prospect of the practicability of the scheme which I have laid down for myself." It was so encouraging, indeed, that a few days afterwards he sent off 200 rupees for the purchase of tickets in the Calcutta Lottery.* Those were days when most men entertained hopes of growing rich *per saltum* through the agency of these Presidency Lotteries, and some had so much faith in them that they dispensed altogether with the slower process of hoarding money. It was on account of this purchase that Metcalfe was now obliged to record that the April results were not as favorable as those of March. "The account for April," he wrote, "though not so favorable as that of March, still shows a progressive increase both in the Accumulating and Contingent Funds. But heavy expenses are coming on in May, the prospect of which is alarming." In this month of May he passed from Madras to Calcutta, and he had extraordinary expenses to meet at both places. The system had not been sufficiently long in operation—the Contingent Fund was not sufficiently full—to bear such a strain upon it. So at the end of the month, having found that nothing had been added to the Accumulating Fund, and that there was a deficiency of 106 rupees on the Contingent Fund, he wrote in his memorandum-book: "The plan with which I set out at the beginning of the year has

* "*April* 12.—Wrote to Calcutta for two tickets in the Lottery to be drawn in July. The damage will be 200 rupees." I do not observe in the July Memoranda any entrance under the head of *Lottery* on the receipt side of the account.

thus been shown to have failed, and a deficit has arisen to the amount above stated."

In thus declaring the failure of his scheme he was a little too candid. The result was not to be fairly estimated after an experiment of only a few months. One extraordinary item, entered in this month of May, was sufficient to cover the entire deficit. It is an item at which he had no need to blush, although it disturbed, for a time, his financial projects, and impelled him to record that he had failed—"*Subscription for the benefit of Dr. Reid's family*, 1000 *rupees*." In those days it was no uncommon thing for some well-known and highly-esteemed member of society, carried off suddenly by one of the diseases of the country, to leave a wife and family behind him in a state of utter destitution. Nor was it an uncommon thing for the friends and acquaintances of the deceased—and many who were neither friends nor acquaintances—to raise a subscription for the benefit of his family, sufficient to send them to England, and to keep them from want for all the rest of their days. It was to one of these subscriptions that Charles Metcalfe had now subscribed 1000 rupees. If he had not subscribed it he could have added the monthly 100*l.* to his Accumulating Fund, and retained a small balance in the Contingent one.

But the failure—if it were one—was soon redeemed. He had scarcely recorded it when he discovered that he was richer than he had supposed. He received his Account-current from his Agents, and it appeared from the state of it that he could make

good the deficit of which he had spoken, and set his system at work again. At the commencement of the mercantile year there was a balance in his favor, which, after deducting the amounts belonging to his Accumulating Fund, and the payments he had since made on the Contingent account, still left him for present purposes more than 15,000 rupees. "This last remainder," he wrote, "I shall at present throw into the Contingent Fund, but when my accounts (with Government) come to be settled, I expect that it will be all absorbed." There was money owing to him on the other side, and as all that he wanted was a little floating capital, his system was soon again in successful operation. Month after month he added 100*l.* to his Accumulating Fund; and at the end of the year, with 1200*l.* to his credit on this account, he had a balance of 2000 rupees in the Contingent Fund to commence the year without misgivings.* From this time he went on steadily, adding to his savings—sometimes spending more than the amount of his salary, but never more than his income. Money brought high interest in those days, and the Accumulating Fund soon became productive.

I need not pursue any further the history of Charles Metcalfe's accumulations. I purposed only to show how he set about the work; and the little which I have exhibited of his system is not without

* It had at one time reached 5000 rupees. But his salary at Scindiah's Court was less by 500 rupees a month than it had been at Lahore and Madras. In the December account, too, there were some extraordinary disbursements. Among others, "Paid at Madras—remainder of subscription to a masquerade given in January last, 1500 rupees."

both interest and instruction. There is one remark, however, which ought to be made in this place, for it is necessary to the right understanding of the fine character which I am attempting to illustrate. Even at this early period of his career, when his accumulations were but scanty, he was a ready lender to men less fortunate or less prudent than himself. There are many still living—and many have passed away—who have tasted largely of Charles Metcalfe's open-handed kindliness; and some who owe all their success in life to his seasonable intervention in their behalf. As he grew older he did not grow more worldly-wise. But it was an abiding source of consolation to him, that although now and then his generosity may have been misplaced, it fell for the most part on good soil, and fructified in gratitude, if not in reformation.*

* In the entries of the year 1810 there is the sum of 2711 rupees (about 300*l.*) lent to Lieutenant C——. The name, with characteristic delicacy, is only thus initialised in the account-book. At the end of the year Metcalfe wrote: "Cash lent or advanced is hereafter to be put down as an inefficient balance, and not as a disbursement. The money lent, therefore, as per August and November, 1810, accounts, to Lieutenant C——, is now to be brought into an Inefficient Fund." As years advanced, the Inefficient Fund amounted to some thousands.

CHAPTER X.

[1811—1814.]

THE DELHI RESIDENCY.

Duties of the Resident—Metcalfe's Opinions of his Position—Letters to Mrs. Monson—Appointed Permanently to the Residency—Drawbacks and Annoyances—The Royal Family of Delhi—Removal of Metcalfe's Assistants—Letter from Lord Minto—Expenses of the Residency—Censures of the Court of Directors—Metcalfe's Defence—Administration of the Delhi Territory.

So Charles Metcalfe, now at the age of twenty-six, found himself the incumbent of an appointment coveted by the oldest officers of both Services—an appointment which, in respect of its importance, its responsibility, and its distinction, was not exceeded by any other in India below the seats at the Council-boards of Government. The duties of the Delhi Resident were onerous and complex. The Residents at other Courts were simply diplomatists. They were bound to confine themselves to the political duties of their situation, and to refrain from all interference with the internal administration of the country in which they resided. But the Delhi Resident was at once a diplomatist and an administrator. It was his duty not only to superintend the

affairs of the pensioned Mogul and his family, but to manage the political relations of the British Government with a wide expanse of country studded with petty principalities, ignorant alike of their duties and their interests, and often in their ignorance vexatious in the extreme. It was his duty, too, to superintend the internal government of all the Delhi territory—to preside over the machinery of revenue collection and the administration of Justice, and to promote by all possible means the development of the resources of the country and the industry and happiness of the people. He addressed himself to his work with a brave resolution. He might, perhaps, have taken deeper interest in it, if he had been more certain of his tenure of office—if he had believed that he would remain to see the results—but he could not have labored more zealously or more diligently in his vocation. The return of Mr. Seton to Delhi was always probable; sometimes it seemed almost certain. And there was something dispiriting in this. For the longer Charles Metcalfe sojourned at the imperial city, the more attached he grew to the place and to the people, whilst the Residency at Scindiah's Court, to which he would have returned, had no attractions for him. But whatever might be the event, his professional success was now an established fact; and only Death could interpose itself between him and the great goal of Fame and Fortune.

He had social duties to perform as well as those of diplomacy and administration. The Resident was a great man—he had a Court of his own, and a large

monthly allowance from Government to support it in a state of becoming splendor. He kept open house. He had what was called a "Family"—all the officers attached to the Residency, with their wives and children, were members of it. In the Resident's house all passing travellers of rank found ready entertainment. Hospitality here put on its best apparel. The new Delhi Resident was just the man to carry himself bravely as the representative of the British nation at an Eastern Court. His liberality was of the best kind. It was Charles Metcalfe's nature to give freely; he was bountiful without ostentation, and no man ever left his house without carrying with him a grateful recollection of the kindliness and the geniality of his host, and cherishing it as one of those pleasant memories which he would not willingly let die.

But it may be doubted whether Charles Metcalfe was happy at this time. He was naturally of a cheerful disposition, and he had too much mental occupation to dwell long or frequently upon the necessary drawbacks of his situation. But there were times when he thought that for even his brilliant position he had paid somewhat too dearly; and when he took up his pen to discourse with some member of his distant family, the old clouds which had gathered over him during the first years of his Indian residence began to overshadow him again, and he spoke doubtfully of the apparent advantages of his present, and the promises of his future life. In the following letter to his Aunt he dwells feelingly upon the darker side of even the most successful Indian

career. His cousin, William Monson,* had been intended for the Indian Civil Service, but he was an only child, and his mother, with a wise discretion which it will be seen Charles Metcalfe highly commended, subsequently determined to detain him at home:

CHARLES METCALFE TO THE HON. MRS. MONSON.

"Delhi Residency, September 10, 1811.

"MY DEAREST AUNT,—I have had the pleasure of receiving your letter of January 7. So far am I from condemning you for resigning William's intended appointment to this country, that I decidedly think you have done that which is best calculated to promote his happiness and your own, by keeping him at home. My father, I conclude, will blame you; for he thinks nothing equal to an appointment to this country. I confess that my ideas are different. Why should you make yourself and William miserable by parting never perhaps to meet again? Why doom him to transportation from everything dear to him? What is there in India to recompense for such sufferings? Fortunes, as you justly observe, are not made rapidly. Take my situation. I have been more than eleven years from England; and it will be certainly more than eleven years before I can return. In these twenty-two or twenty-four years the best part of my life will have passed away—that part in which all my feelings will have been most alive to the different sensations of happiness and misery arising out of different circumstances. I left my father and mother just as I became acquainted with them as a man. I have not once had their cheering smile to encourage my labors in my profession. When I return, should they both be alive—which I pray to God that they may be—I shall, indeed, have the happiness of attending on

* The present Lord Monson, to whom I am indebted for these letters and much other valuable assistance rendered to me in the course of my preparation of this Memoir.

their declining years; but, alas! how much cause shall I have to lament that I was doomed by my fate not to see them from the days of boyhood to those of their extreme old age? But suppose that they should not be alive, and when one considers that my father must live to be eighty to allow me to see him again, it is enough to make one tremble, though I still hope. Suppose, I say, that they should not be alive, what will then be my situation? The thought is too horrible to dwell upon. See my sisters? I left them children. I shall find them old women —married, perhaps, into families which will not care one farthing about me, and whose habits it will not suit me to associate with. Take the worst, and what a melancholy situation I may be in when I return to England! Where will be my connexions, my friendships, and even my acquaintance? Unknown in society, and even shunned as being an Indian, I certainly will never push my way into the society of fine lords and ladies, who may turn up their noses and think me highly honored by being in their presence.

"Neither will I ever fall back and take up my post in the ranks of Indian society. I recollect what it was, and know what it is, and that society will not suit me. I shall not be able to afford to spend all my income on dinners and balls, houses, coaches, and servants. Money was made for better uses, and, by God's grace, I hope to apply mine to some of them. A dull, solitary life, is the one that I shall, most likely, taking all chances, be obliged to pursue. And what shall I have gained by making so many sacrifices? Money—and not more, perhaps, than I might have gained (I allow not probably) by a profession in England. And it must be remembered, that I have been uncommonly fortunate in my present profession. So you see, my dear Aunt, I think you perfectly right. Do not suppose from the above, that I am unhappy or discontented. I have long since reconciled myself to my fate, and am contented and as happy as one far from his friends can be. I do not allow unpleasant thoughts to enter my mind, and if I do not enjoy what is beyond my reach—the inexpressible pleasure of Family

Society—I at least am always cheerful, and never unhappy. My father did what he thought best for me; and it is satisfactory to me to reflect, that my career in India, except as to fortune, must have answered his expectations. It has been successful beyond any merits, that I am aware of, in myself. I hold now, as Resident at Delhi, a situation which I consider without exception in every respect the highest in the country beneath the members of Government; and I do not wish to quit this situation until I quit India.

"I hope to lay by at the rate of 3000*l.* per annum, which in twelve or fifteen years ought to be enough to enable me to live at home in the plain manner in which I mean to live as an Old Bachelor; for, you must know, that I have no thought of *ever* marrying, as I shall never have money enough for it, unless I consent, which I will not do, to spend the whole of it on what is termed *living*. In that case, I should be poor in the midst of thousands. Then only can I consider myself rich when I have the command of money to gratify such inclinations as may arise. . . . . .

"I am ever, my dear Aunt,

"Your attached nephew,

"C. T. METCALFE."

FROM THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"Delhi Residency, November 16, 1811.

"MY DEAR AUNT,—From circumstances which are likely to last as long as I remain at Delhi, I am now so overloaded with business that I can never get rid of it before nine o'clock at night. This will account to you for my not writing oftener. I am obliged to let my family dine without me in order to write this; but the pleasure of communicating with you is not to be lost. . . . . R—— has some idea of going to England, but I do not conceive that it will be fulfilled. An old Indian takes a long time to determine to quit his emoluments, and put his foot on board a ship for England. Many is the

Indian who dies of staying 'one year longer' in the country, like the gentleman on whose tombstone is inscribed,

> Here lies Mr. Wandermere,
> Who was to have gone home next year.

I hope that this will be neither R——'s case nor mine. . . .

"I am likely to return to Scindiah's camp, for Mr. Seton threatens to return to Delhi. He is now Governor of Prince of Wales' Island; but he accepted that appointment on condition, that if he should not like to keep it, he might return to Delhi. In his last letter to me, he announces his intention of availing himself of that condition; and I shall be obliged to turn out for him, to my great regret. I shall be no loser in a pecuniary way; but I consider the Residency at Delhi infinitely superior to that in Scindiah's camp.

"I expect, or rather hope, that Theophilus will marry before he quits England. He is calculated for marriage, and requires it, I think. For my part, I shall never marry. My principal reason for thinking that *I positively* shall never marry, is the difficulty of two dispositions uniting so exactly as to produce that universal harmony which is requisite to form the perfect happiness that is indispensable to make the married state desirable. But little do I know what is to befall me. . . . .

"Ever most affectionately yours,

"C. T. METCALFE."

A few more passages from letters written to the same much-respected correspondent during the first years of his residence at Delhi—passages illustrative of the feelings with which he regarded his position in India—may be given in this place. They show how little he had ceased to yearn after home—how little time had impaired the strength of his domestic affections:

". . . . . To-morrow will be Christmas-day, when all friends meet at home. I have a party of fifty to dine with me, among whom I cannot reckon one real friend. What a blank it is to live in such a society! I have lately been overwhelmed with visitors—Sir George and Lady Nugent,* Colonel and Lady Charlotte Murray, and twenty others of the same party, have been my guests for eight or ten days. They are gone. I found them all very pleasant. But I often wish that I had some cottage to retire to, where I might live in obscurity and uninterrupted solitude for a time. I feel myself out of my element in attempting to support the appearance which attaches to the situation I hold."—[*Delhi, December* 24, 1812.]

". . . . Tom† is arrived. . . . . Poor fellow! He has a long time before him; but, perhaps, not longer than I have. It is not improbable that I may remain eighteen or twenty years more. . . . . I cannot say that I approve of the plan of sending children out to India for all their lives. There is no other service in which a man does not see his friends sometimes. Here it is perpetual banishment. There was a good reason for sending sons to India when fortunes were made rapidly, and they returned home. But if a man is to slave all his life, he had better do so, in my opinion, in his own country, where he may enjoy the society of his friends, which I call enjoying life. . . . . Do not suppose that I am discontented, and make myself unhappy. It is my fate, and I am reconciled to it. The time may come, if ever I am able to set myself down at home with a comfortable fortune, when I shall confess that my destiny was a favorable one, and shall be able to look back to past annoyances with composure. But can anything be a recompense to me in this world for not seeing my dear and honored father, from the days of my boyhood to the day of his death—and, perhaps, the same with regard to my mother?

* Sir George Nugent was the new Commander-in-Chief.

† His younger brother, Thomas Theophilus Metcalfe, who had come out to India in the Company's Civil Service.

I think not—decidedly not. At present, notwithstanding my uncommon good fortune, I am not convinced that it is conducive to a man's happiness to send him to seek his fortune in India."—[*Delhi, March* 6, 1813.]

" . . . . I cannot describe to you how much I am worked. And if I could, there would be no pleasure either to you or me in the detail. I will, therefore, pass over that for awhile, and endeavor to forget my plagues. Tom arrived here on the 18th. I am very much pleased with him, and think him a superior young man. I will answer for his doing well. He distinguished himself very much in College, and got out by his own exertions in less than four months. Here he and I are together; and here we shall remain for many and many a long year, consoling each other as well as we can for the absence of all other friends.* . . . . I shall see you, I hope, in eighteen years!"—[*Delhi, November* 2, 1813.]

" . . . . It is very kind in you to wish me home; and I assure you that I wish myself at home most ardently. Nevertheless, as the sacrifices which a man must make who comes to India have been made for the most part already, I do not mean to return to England to struggle with poverty, or to be forced to draw tight my purse-strings. The sacrifice that I have made I consider great. The recompense that I propose to myself is to have a competency, not merely for my own expenses, but to enable me to assist others without reluctance or restraint. My own expenses may, I think, be trifling. I believe that I should have more pleasure in spending only 500*l.* per annum, than I should have in squandering 5000*l.* in the same way. But to put extreme economy out of the question, allow 1500*l.* or 2000*l.* for my own expenses. You know better than I do what a single man ought to live upon creditably, without attempting to vie with people of large fortunes. Tell me what

* The younger Metcalfe, by the spontaneous kindness of Lord Minto, had been appointed an Assistant to the Delhi Resident.

you think requisite for the support of a bachelor in a decent, comfortable manner. Add to that what would be requisite to procure a seat in Parliament. Add to that a sum to enable me to make presents freely to my friends, and to assist the distressed, and to contribute to public charities. Let me know the sum total, and I will make my arrangements accordingly. . . . . I am become very unsociable and morose, and feel myself getting more so every day. I lead a vexatious and joyless life; and it is only the hope of home at last that keeps me alive and merry. That thought cheers me; though writing to any of you always makes me sad." — [*Shalimar, Delhi, March* 20, 1814.]

From passages such as these, glimpses may be caught of the inner life of the Delhi Resident. Stripped of his externals, the *burra sahib*, or great lord of the imperial city, was but a solitary exile, continually disquieted by thoughts of Home. But he lived with the harness on his back, and incessant occupation preserved him from despondency or depression. He had now become Resident indeed. The anticipations of his return to Scindiah's Court which he had expressed in one of his letters to his Aunt, were not to be realised. At the commencement of September, 1812, Mr. Seton entered the Hooghly river, on his return from Prince of Wales' Island, full of the thought of revisiting Delhi. But a letter from Lord Minto, announcing that he had been appointed provisionally a member of Council, met him at Diamond Harbour. Two vacancies were about to occur at the Council-Board. Mr. Lumsden and Mr. Colebroke had both nearly served for the appointed five years of office. To the first of these

vacancies that ripe statesman, Mr. Edmonstone, who had long been little less than the Supreme Government itself, stood nominated by the Court of Directors. For the second, the choice lay between Mr. Tucker and Mr. Seton; but after some discussion at the India House, the latter had been eventually appointed; and the intelligence had arrived just in time to greet him as he entered the river on his return to Bengal.

Scarcely had Seton landed, when he wrote to his old Assistant to apprise him of what was a matter to him of such vital importance. But he had been anticipated by some of the denizens of Government House, who, a week before, had despatched the glad tidings to the Acting-Resident. The intelligence, which was in some measure unexpected, filled both Seton and Metcalfe with joy. To the former, moreover, it was an inexpressible relief. "In addition to considerations of a domestic character," he wrote to his old Assistant, "I trust I have a due sense of others of a less selfish kind, which render the situation gratifying in the extreme; and you, my dear Metcalfe, will, I am persuaded, give me credit for the delight with which I indulge the reflection that the arrangement will necessarily fix you at Delhi. I really cannot express to you how awkward and distressed I felt every time that the idea came across me that I could not return to Delhi without being the means of your quitting that station. In vain did I try to reconcile my mind to it by turning to the 'flattering unction' of its being necessary, in consequence of the state of my domestic concerns.

All would not do. I still felt the awkwardness arising from the embarrassing reflection that I must either sacrifice the pressing claims of my family, or interfere with the views of my friend—and of such a friend! The present arrangement has, among many other desirable points, the advantage of tranquillising this painful struggle." The May fleet which arrived in October brought out the official announcement of Seton's appointment; so the old Delhi Resident remained in Calcutta; Metcalfe was confirmed in the appointment which he had now held on a precarious tenure for a year and a half; and Richard Strachey succeeded in the same manner to the Residency at Scindiah's Court.

And thus was removed one of the great drawbacks of Charles Metcalfe's position at Delhi during the earlier period of his incumbency; but there were still, as he said in his letters to his Aunt, many vexations and annoyances. Among the troubles of the Residency, not the least were those which arose out of the folly of the Mogul, and the wickedness of his family and dependents. There were things done in the Palace, and duly reported to the Resident, in violation of all laws human and divine. The crimes which were thus committed, sometimes behind the sanctity of the *purdah*, greatly disquieted Metcalfe, for it was difficult either to prevent their commission, or to deal with them when they were committed. One day it was reported to him by the officer in command of the Palace-guard, whose duty it was to take cognisance of all that passed within the limits of the imperial residence, that two of the

young princes had been playing the parts of common robbers—oiling their naked persons, then rushing with drawn swords among the startled inmates of the Zenana, and forcibly carrying off their property. Another time it was announced to him that one of these princes had murdered a woman in the Palace, either by beating her to death or compelling her to swallow opium. Again tidings came to him that one of the ladies of the Emperor's establishment had murdered a female infant. Then it was reported to the Resident that the imperial quarters had been rendered a general receptacle for stolen goods and sequestered property. Then a knotty question arose as to whether the slave-trade, having been prohibited in the city of Delhi, should be allowed to survive in the Palace. Then it appeared that the Emperor himself, after sundry intrigues at Calcutta, was intriguing with the Newab Wuzeer of Oude, through the agency of his favorite son, the Prince Jehanguire, who, on the pretext of attending a marriage festival, had gone to Lucknow, from Allahabad, where he was a state-prisoner, to beseech the Newab to intercede with the British Government for the augmentation of his father's stipend.

Since Charles Metcalfe had made his first obeisance at the Court of the Mogul, the old blind Emperor, Shah Allum, had been gathered to his fathers; and now Akbar Shah, his son, reigned in his stead. The infirmities of the unhappy monarch had not been without their uses. His wants had been comparatively few, and he had grown penurious at the close of his career. When he died, it appeared

that he had hoarded up some lakhs of rupees; so his successor found himself with a supply of unappropriated cash in his treasury which he might call undividedly his own. But the new King being neither blind nor penurious, complained that the stipend allowed by the British Government was insufficient for the wants of such a family as he was bound to maintain. The inmates of the imperial Palace constituted a considerable population in themselves. There were members of the royal family belonging to several generations, including even the connexions of Shah Allum's predecessor; and liberal as were the allowances granted by the British Government, they barely sufficed to support, in comfort and respectability, a royal family of such inordinate dimensions. The condition, indeed, of these wretched people moved the generous sympathies of Lord Minto. Something of a promise had been made to the Mogul, that when the financial condition of the British Government would admit of greater liberality, an addition would be made to the imperial stipend. So in the summer of 1809 the Governor-General was induced to review the whole question, and in an elaborate minute, partly written by Mr. Edmonstone, partly by himself, declared his intention of augmenting the allowances of the Shah, and indicated the most advantageous method of doing it. The increased amount was still below that which the Mogul had declared to be necessary for the support of his household; but the savings of Shah Allum for some time made good the deficiency, and kept the royal pensioner

quiet. No sooner, however, was this reserve-fund exhausted, than he began to bestir himself to obtain a further augmentation of what he called his "tribute," and to this end instructed his favorite son, in whose behalf he had long desired to set aside the rights of the heir-apparent, to obtain the ear of the Newab Wuzeer of Oude, and to induce him to further his claims. The letter of the Shah* fell into the hands of Colonel Baillie, the Resident at Lucknow, who recommended that thenceforth the Prince should be "subjected to those salutary restraints, under the influence and authority of the Resident, which would seem indispensable to the future guidance of his conduct, and cannot be easily applied under any other authority."†

Indeed, it was necessary to exercise no little salutary restraint over the movements of the Shah and his favorite son. The idea which the former had encouraged of setting aside the rightful succession in favor of the latter had been peremptorily resisted by the British Government; but it was doubtful whether it had been wholly abandoned. A little time before the detection of these Lucknow intrigues—that is, in the spring of 1811, soon after Metcalfe's assumption of office—the Mogul had

* The exordium of the King's letter sets forth the state of the case as given in the text:

"My beloved son, the light of my eyes and delight of my soul, may the Almighty increase your years! After prayers for the prolongation of your life, be it known to you that in consequence of the great increase of necessary expenditure, the money which was left in the treasury at the demise of his late Majesty has all been removed and expended. The tribute allowed by the English is totally inadequate to defray my expenses, and there seems no prospect of an increase, nor of the satisfactory adjustment of any other matter depending," &c., &c.

† *Colonel Baillie to Mr. Edmonstone, March* 3, 1813.—[*MS. Records.*]

been partly the agent, partly the victim, of another intrigue at Calcutta. This business was known in the official language of the times as the Mission of Prawn Kishen. The secret history of this Mission is diverting in the extreme. Two wily natives—the one a Hindoo, the other a Mussulman, aided by a Moulavee, or Mahomedan priest—persuaded the Shah that they could do great things for him at Calcutta, especially in respect of the succession of Prince Jehanguire, through the agency of the Chief-Justice, Sir Henry Russell, from whom a letter, addressed to his Majesty, was produced. The weakness of the King caught at the imposture. The cunning knaves were sent as wakeels* to Calcutta, whilst the expounder of the Koran remained behind in the imperial city to consummate the fraud. They did their work with considerable address, and for some time, by means of a series of amusing fabrications, contrived to live upon the credulity of their master. There was no falsehood—there was no forgery—which these sharpers hesitated to utter or to commit. They wrote astonishing accounts of their reception by "Lord Russell," and despatched letters to the King in the name of that high functionary. They declared that they had waited on him immediately on their arrival at Calcutta, that on receiving an account of his Majesty's situation he had "wrung his hands with grief," and on reading the King's letter he had bitten his lips, and assured the Envoy that he had caused the Governor-

* A *wakeel* is an agent, or attorney. In this work the word, which will probably be of frequent occurrence, generally signifies a diplomatic agent.

General to write a letter to the Nizam (Metcalfe), saying, "I have sent you that you should honor his Majesty, not that you should distress him. If, another time, I hear of your offending his Majesty, you may expect to be punished. . . . . Be tranquil, for the business of the heir-apparentcy, and of the removal of the Nizam, shall soon be effected, and the other matters, also, will be easily accomplished." Having thus assured the King that all his representations had been favorably received, they told him, in a subsequent letter,* that they were "off for London" with the Governor-General and the old Delhi Resident, and requested his Majesty to pay their wages to a friend, whom they named, in their absence. Lord Minto and Mr. Seton were just at that time embarking for the Eastern Archipelago; and the knaves taking advantage of a circumstance, the outline of which might obtain notoriety even at Delhi, assured the King that they were going to England, and that his humble servants

* The letter in which this is stated is highly amusing. They had told the King before that Mr. Elphinstone had been sent a prisoner to England, and now they related the circumstances of his acquittal:

"His Lordship (Lord Russell) has ordered us both to accompany Mr. Seton and his Excellency the Governor-General to London—so, God willing, off we go to London, by the way of Bombay. We hope in your Majesty's gracious kindness to allow Gora Chund to join us in this quarter, for from the smallness of our wages we can with difficulty make our subsistence if asunder. We trust in your Majesty's bounty for increase of our wages. It has been our bad fortune, and the cause of disappointment, that such has not taken place as yet to the present day. We leave Kevel Ram with the aforesaid gentleman (Lord Russell); Mr. Elphinstone having been accused of partiality to the French was obliged to go to London. There before the King he said, 'I am in no fault, but have been accused through spite because when in Delhi I reviled Mr. Seton on account of his disrespect to the royal family. I am in no fault.' He was accordingly acquitted. We set off with Seton and the Newab Governor on the 18th of March. We beg that our wages be paid to the Moulavee from month to month, who of course will get it conveyed to us."—[*MS. Records.*]

were going with him. And having done this, the lying Moulavee assured the King that the story was correct, that his wakeels had sailed with the Governor-General, and that all his Majesty's wishes would now be speedily fulfilled.

In due course the fraud was discovered. The letters from Calcutta, in which such great things had been promised, were placed in Metcalfe's hands. The Shah expressed unbounded contrition, but it was doubtful whether he did not grieve over the failure of his Mission rather than over his own misconduct in attempting to carry on an underhand intrigue; and Metcalfe, therefore, took the opportunity of counselling his Majesty to "relinquish that torment of his life, the worrying desire to effect impracticable changes." He was not without a hope at the time that the advice which he offered would have due effect upon the Shah, and dissuade him from launching into any further profitless intrigues. But baffled in the direction of Calcutta, he soon began to consider whether he might not push his diplomacy with better success at Lucknow. There was, indeed, an under-current of intrigue continually flowing out of the Palace; and, although it could hardly at any time become dangerous in its effects, it was likely to become inconvenient, and was, therefore, to be restrained. Preposterous visions of a great future revival were indulged by these decayed princes. The more the generous sympathy of the British Government sought to cover their actual humiliation with outward marks of courtesy and respect, the more they

dreamt of recovering the substantialities of their bygone greatness. "The King," wrote Lord Minto, in the minute to which I have alluded, "bent on his unattainable purpose, but destitute of power to attempt it openly, and too feeble even to avow it, stoops to every little artifice, engages in every petty intrigue, and is drawn into all the oblique and disingenuous courses which the ladies of his Palace, or councillors equally feminine, can suggest and recommend to him. An opening is furnished for such practices by the liberal courtesy with which the exterior observances due to the real sovereignty of his ancestors are, most properly, extended to his nominal title; and under cover of the formal homage, which a tenderness for his personal feelings alone prompts us to render him, he seeks to advance a silent and gradual claim to the substantial attributes of greatness."*

That these wild imaginations would be fostered by the excessive kindness and consideration of Mr. Seton, Metcalfe had always predicted.† And now he found that the noble failing of his friend had greatly increased his own difficulties—that the evils he had foreseen had actually come to pass. It was now his duty, therefore—a duty forced upon him no less by his own rooted convictions than by the recorded instructions of the Supreme Government—to do all that could be done without any indelicate

* *Minute of Lord Minto, June* 6, 1809.—[*MS. Records.*]

† See letters to Mr. Sherer in Chapter VII., especially a passage at page 224, which may be compared with the extract given above from Lord Minto's minute written two years afterwards. Such, nevertheless, was the unreasonableness of the Shah, that he complained of Mr. Seton's conduct.

and vexatious interference in the domestic affairs of the royal household, to baffle all these petty intrigues, and disperse all these idle aspirations. It was his policy, whilst exercising firm control in all matters of essential importance, to abstain from meddling with petty details connected with the interior arrangements of the Palace. But nothing was more difficult than this. He could not turn a deaf ear to the reports of robbery and murder which came to him from that great sty of pollution; and yet he could not deal with offences so committed as he would with crimes, more immediately under his jurisdiction, committed in the open city. Even the truth struggled out but dimly from the murky recesses of the Palace. Sometimes little things were magnified and mystified into gigantic shadows, which dissolved at the touch of judicial inquiry. At others, it was not to be doubted that terrible realities were altogether obscured and lost among the swarming labyrinths of that great building. All these things greatly disquieted Metcalfe; for the evil was a tremendous one and so difficult to reach.

There were other vexations and annoyances to disquiet him at this time. Among these was one which inconveniently affected the efficiency of his administration. The "Assistants," upon whose coadjutancy Metcalfe chiefly relied at this time for the due administration of the revenue of the Delhi territory, were Mr. William Fraser and Mr. Gardiner. But it happened, as it often happens in such cases, that their efficiency in this particular office became the signal for their removal to another; and Met-

calfe was suddenly deprived of their aid. This "spoliation of the Delhi Residency," as Mr. Seton subsequently called it, was done with the best intentions by Lord Minto, who, appreciating their services, was anxious to reward them, and so removed them to the Judicial Department.* But the Resident complained, and not without reason, of being thus stripped of his auxiliaries; and Seton, to whom the letter of complaint was addressed, gave it to Lord Minto one evening at the tea-table. "More complaints, my Lord, and legitimate ones, too," he said, "from my excellent friend Metcalfe." "Knowing them to be such," replied Lord Minto, "I am almost afraid to read them, more especially as I have not yet been able to write to him the explanatory letter which I have so long had in contemplation." "He, however," continued Seton, reporting these circumstances to his friend, "did read the letter, and with great interest—I might almost say distress and embarrassment—distress on your account and embarrassment on his own. Yet, though really annoyed at reflecting on the havoc made at the Residency, he could not help laughing aloud at your humorous picture of your distress, concluding with 'kings, vakeels, Sikhs, Patans, and old women.'" And, writing again soon afterwards with reference to the same subject, the member of Council said, "If I did not know you to be greatly

* This, after a lapse of forty years, still remains one of the gravest defects of the Indian Civil-Service system. Men are removed, for the sake of promotion, from one department to another, just at the very time when the experience gained in the old office is likely to be turned to profitable account.

above all vanity, I might perhaps offer you some consolation by repeating what Lord Minto said upon the occasion with reference to your being in yourself a host (his words were *Ipse agmen*), and consequently admirably qualified to do with less aid than most men—to enlighten even when 'shorn of your beams.'"

Of the circumstances under which those changes had been made Mr. Seton entered into an elaborate explanation; but he said rightly that Lord Minto had only been deterred by pressure of business from explaining them under his own hand. The Governor-General had, indeed, long been waiting for an opportunity of making his peace with Metcalfe; but that opportunity did not occur until he was half-way home. And then from the Cape of Good Hope he despatched the following pleasant letter, which illustrates at once his kindness of heart, his affection for Metcalfe, and the interest which he took in all the affairs of the Government which he had now quitted:

LORD MINTO TO MR. METCALFE.

"Cape of Good Hope, February 24, 1814.

"My dear Sir,—I offended against every right feeling by coming away from Bengal without a line to acknowledge the many proofs of the kindest, and to me the most flattering and gratifying, partiality, which you afforded me during the period of our acquaintance in India, and I am not disposed to aggravate my fault by carrying my silence round the Cape, and beyond the limits of the Company's quondam privileges. Accept, therefore, from hence, the tardy, but not less warm and sincere assurances of my cordial and affectionate regard.

This sentiment having originated in the most perfect esteem, and having ever since been improved by a constant observation and experience both of character and talents, may be the better credited, and its value, perhaps, enhanced in your estimation. This sort of plump declaration is, perhaps, seldom made, except to a different sex, just before the question is popped. Let it stand for once as an introduction, between a pair of the same gender, to a request which I feel a great inclination to pop, for a sincere, constant, and mutual friendship from this time forward. On my part it has begun long ago; and I have, therefore, a stock in hand that may furnish a sort of security for my part of the bargain, and some strong indications of regard already afforded by you leave me no apprehension of a disappointment in your share of the contract.

"Brownrigg has, I think, acted the part of a confidant in this affair very faithfully, and from his go-between-ship I might still contrive to hear pretty regularly anything that interests you much; but I shall be still more gratified, and if you sign the counterpart of this treaty, I shall positively expect you to keep me informed under your own hand, *proprio pugno*, of everything that in any degree concerns your welfare, credit, happiness, or comfort.

"I began, a great while ago, an explanatory letter to you on the affair of Mr. Fraser's and Mr. Gardner's sudden removal from Delhi to Moradabad. As the matter naturally appeared to you, there was a most complicated injury, affecting at once yourself and both those gentlemen; while in reality I was all the time thinking I had done a very clever thing, and that I was a fortunate man in meeting what I understood to be the earnest wishes of your assistants, and what I concluded had received your previous concurrence. I happened, unfortunately, not to finish that letter, and feel less confident now in entering on the subject, as the particulars are less fresh in my memory. I can venture, however, to say all that appears material, as far as my intentions are concerned. The fact is, that Mr. Seton, our common friend, had about that time repre-

sented to me in glowing terms the merits of Mr. Fraser and Mr. Gardner, and the fair pretensions that both had acquired by distinguished service to advance to some station superior in emolument to those they then held, as well as leading to earlier prospects of higher promotion. From the state of the Diplomatic line, and the claims of assistants senior to themselves, they were discouraged from confining their views to that department, and, in a word, were desirous of being transferred to the Judicial. I was well acquainted with the very extraordinary merits and very eminent services of both, and considering these as constituting powerful claims to the attention and favor of Government, I was sincerely anxious to promote their views; but I told Mr. Seton that I had scruples, and should find considerable difficulty in appointing either of these gentlemen at once to the office of Judge and Magistrate, especially in the Upper Provinces, where that office was placed on a higher scale of emolument than elsewhere. I admitted that the Residency at Delhi united, to some extent, the duties of Revenue, of the Judicial service, and of Police, to the diplomatic functions, in a manner which distinguished it from other Residencies, and which had the effect of facilitating the transfer of the officers attached to Delhi to those other departments; but still it was a transfer, and operated in a manner which was calculated to give umbrage and to create dissatisfaction amongst those whose promotion was suspended in a line to which they had devoted themselves, and in which they had qualified themselves by a pretty long course of practice and experience for the situations, in which they were superseded by gentlemen drawn from another branch of service. You will easily imagine that I was more conversant in these discontents than the candidates for office themselves; as discontent, in which ever party it lay, was sure to find its way to me. I had another objection, on a principle of more importance, to bringing these gentlemen, at the first step, to the office of Judge and Magistrate. To be qualified for its duties, requires more than talents, application, activity, and probity, all of which I

knew Mr. Fraser and Mr. Gardner to possess, and to have proved themselves to possess most eminently. But it has been a principle with me to require Experience also in the particular functions of that line. Under these considerations, I explained to Mr. Seton the difficulties that would stand in the way of an *immediate* appointment to the office of Judge and Magistrate, and advised his friends, through him, to enter the Judicial line as soon as possible in the rank of Assistant Judge, or Magistrate. This step might be, as I do sincerely think it would have been, below the individual and *personal* pretensions of these distinguished persons; but I viewed it in the light of a temporary accommodation to principle, and as leading in the least objectionable manner, and at the same time by a sufficiently early process, to the object of their wishes. Soon after these discussions with Mr. Seton, the resolution was taken to appoint two Assistant Magistrates in the Zillah of Moradabad; and I felt immediately the opportunity which that resolution afforded, of enabling Mr. Fraser and Mr. Gardner to make their *first step* towards Judge and Magistrate. I proposed Mr. Fraser accordingly, and immediately afterwards Mr. Gardner. As this was done with the concurrence of Mr. Seton, I had no doubt of its proving acceptable to the parties concerned; and I never doubted your privity and acquiescence in these views of your assistants. After enjoying very agreeable reflections for some time on the subject of these arrangements, Mr. Fraser's remonstrance and your lamentations (most natural, I allow, since you had not been prepared for such a reduction in your force), took me all aback, or rather all aghast! I felt in a moment, that in this capital measure, which had tickled me so much, I had been little better than a busybody and a marplot. What related to Mr. Fraser was instantly revoked, and Gardner was left in Moradabad only because it was not ascertained that he objected to it. These are the circumstances with regard to the *intention*, I mean mine; you will perceive that I entertained none other than that of promoting the views in the service of two young gentlemen, whom, without knowing either per-

sonally, I esteemed and admired extremely. I certainly mistook my road; or rather, was misled into the false steps I made. I am, therefore, very desirous that Mr. Fraser should understand that nothing was further from my thoughts than degrading, or in any way mortifying a person whom I have long respected, and that I had no hostile design, nor any other than the most friendly towards him in the whole affair. With regard to the *Resident at Delhi*, I may as well confess that, having always had a very mean opinion of his abilities, and thinking him a very unamiable character and dull companion, I did entertain a secret wish to bring him into disrepute, by depriving him of his most able and experienced coadjutors.

"Now for ourselves. We arrived here in good health, the 7th instant, and shall sail for St. Helena the 26th, in company with the *Stirling Castle*. Whether we shall proceed with that ship from St. Helena to England, cannot be determined till we know the state of the convoys at St. Helena.

"As the whole ship's company of the *Hussar* are your slaves, I may venture, without consulting them, to send you everything that is kind from the whole, of all ages, and both genders.

"Believe me ever, my dear Metcalfe,

"(being entitled to this familiarity by the *contract*),

"Faithfully and affectionately yours,

"MINTO."

But that which most disquieted Charles Metcalfe during the earlier years of his Residency at Delhi was a circumstance connected, not with the diplomatic, not with the administrative, but with the social side of his multiform office. It was his duty, as has been already hinted, to keep up a certain state at Delhi, as the representative of the British Government at the Court of the Mogul. To a public functionary in such a situation the entertainment of a certain, or, rather, an uncertain number of

people every week is a business rather than a pleasure. He has to feast scores of people, of whom he knows little, and for whom he cares nothing; and to live in crowds, where he would fain be alone. His house is a sort of huge caravansary, from which no one is turned away, but every one carries off something. For purposes of current hospitality, a liberal monthly allowance is granted by Government,* and Metcalfe was of a character which ensured its expenditure to the last sixpence. But it happened that when he joined the Delhi Residency it was in a poor state of equipment. It was sadly wanting in all the necessary appointments of plate and furniture. Hospitality was impracticable with such means, and the external dignity of the Government could not be becomingly maintained. It was Metcalfe's duty, therefore, as he conceived, to make certain purchases of public property at the public expense. Of these purchases, the Supreme Government tacitly approved, and the disbursements were formally admitted. But when the accounts went home to the Court of Directors, that body disapproved of the expenditure, and severely rebuked Metcalfe. "The conduct of the Delhi Resident," they wrote to the Governor-General in Council, "in incurring charges of so enormous a magnitude as

* The gross allowances attached to the office had been diminished on the departure of Mr. Seton, who had drawn a consolidated allowance of 8052 rupees a month — being 2859 rupees salary, with 5193 rupees Resident's charges. By a resolution of the Governor-General in Council, February 27, 1811, it was declared that this measure had been adopted on grounds principally of a personal nature with respect to Mr. Seton, and decreed that the allowances of the Delhi Residency should be placed on their former footing. For further information on this subject, see the close of Chapter XII.

those referred to in the papers before us, without having received, or even applied for, the previous sanction of Government, is in every view unjustifiable. The charges are reported by the Civil Auditor to be unprecedented in amount, and we are surprised to find these irregularities in the Resident's proceedings passed over without any mark of displeasure or reprehension." And having commented upon the several items of the charge, they proceeded to say—"We consider the whole disbursement to have been incurred under circumstances so directly in opposition to the regulations of which Mr. Metcalfe could not have been ignorant, and in a spirit of such profuse extravagance, that we cannot possibly sanction any part of them without holding out to our servants in general an example of the most dangerous tendency, as it amounts to no less than an assumed right to disburse the property of the Company at the discretion of the individuals divested of all wholesome control. We shall accordingly consider the whole of this disbursement as having been made unwarrantably, and under the personal responsibility of the Resident, and so accordingly direct that he be peremptorily required to pay into your treasury the whole amount of the said sum of 48,119rs. 6a. 5p., and that the property purchased thus irregularly be considered as belonging to the Resident, and not as constituting any part of the Company's dead-stock."*

This was, doubtless, a severe rebuke. But as in India they throw up before their doors and windows

* General letter to Bengal, September 30, 1814.—[*MS. Records.*]

well-watered screens of fragrant grass, through which the fiery winds of the hot season pass cooled and tempered, so the Governor-General was careful that the scorching blasts of the Court's economical indignation should reach Metcalfe only through one of these *tatties*, softened and moderated, and rendered endurable by cooling qualifications of his own. "Although the Governor-General," wrote the Political Secretary, John Adam, in an official communication to the Delhi Resident, "has deemed it proper, as an act of obedience to the positive instructions of the Court, to communicate their order to you, yet as his Lordship sees grounds for believing that the Honorable Court will take a more favorable view of the question on re-consideration, I am desired to inform you that the orders will not be enforced until the further directions of the Honourable Court may be received in reply to the proposed reference."* And at the same time John Adam wrote privately to Metcalfe, telling him that the Government intended to resist "the encroaching spirit of the Court of Directors," of which he was "destined to be the victim."†

But, in spite of the protection thrown over him by the Supreme Government, the censures of the Court of Directors wounded Metcalfe to the quick. It is the fate of most men, some time or other in the course of their lives, to be suspected and accused of those very offences which they are least capable of

* Secretary to Government to Resident at Delhi, July 15, 1815.—[*MS. Records.*]

† John Adam to Charles Metcalfe, July 19, 1815.—[*MS. Correspondence.*]

committing. In spite of the mollifying influences of the Secretary's official letter, the rebuke of the Court was severely felt. "I have the disgrace and mortification," wrote Metcalfe to Mr. Adam, "to acknowledge the receipt of your despatch, conveying to me the censure of the Honorable the Court of Directors expressed in the most unqualified terms. It is the severe censure," he added, after thanking the Governor-General for his unsolicited kindness, "contained in the orders of the Court, which I feel most acutely, far more so than the pecuniary injury which it is proposed to inflict. My life and everything that I have are at the disposal of the Honorable Company; but my character I wish to carry unsullied to the grave."* He then entered into an elaborate and triumphant defence of his conduct, and con-

* It is right that I should give the substance of the defence, though the letter is too long for quotation in its integrity.

"When I arrived as Resident at Delhi," he wrote, "there was not a single article of public property at the Residency in the way of furniture for the house or equipment for the table. I could not make up the deficiency by any brought with me, because the equipment of the Residency which I had quitted was public property, and remained for the use of my successor, though much of it had been paid for out of my monthly allowances. That some furniture for the Residency house and some equipment for the Residency table were necessary, will, I hope, be admitted. It is obvious that a house is useless without furniture, and that a table cannot be kept without equipment. I take it for granted, therefore, that some furniture and some equipment were unquestionably indispensable." Assuming this, he said, two questions arose, one as to the responsibility—the other as to amount. Both had been submitted to the Supreme Government. It was competent for them to pass a decision; and if they had decided in either case against Metcalfe, he would cheerfully have abided by the decision. He argued that as the Residencies at Scindiah's Court, Nagpore, Poonah, Hyderabad, and Mysore possessed property charged to the public account, he was justified in assuming that the Delhi Residency might be brought into the same category, and admitted to the same privileges. But he declared that at the same time he had purchased the property on his own responsibility, and left it to the Government to determine whether it should be a public or a private charge. As Government had decided that it was the former, he reasoned conclusively that the censure, if any, should not be cast upon him, but upon the Government which had admitted the charge.

cluded by saying: "Knowing that I have always served the Company with devoted zeal and indefatigable labor; knowing that I am ready every day to lay down my life in their service; knowing that in the case which has brought down such heavy disapprobation on me, I was far from deserving censure, it is with a feeling stronger than grief that I find myself selected for public disgrace. In whatever spirit my conduct may be judged—whatever return my services may receive, I shall continue, as long as I serve the Company, to serve with unabated zeal and entire devotion. Unfounded censure cannot depress me, neither shall it diminish my faithful exertions. Highly as I prize the approbation of the Honorable the Court of Directors, if I have the misfortune not to obtain it, the approbation of my own conscience will support me; and I shall not sink under censure, however severe, when I feel that it is not merited, and see that it arises from error." It was, indeed, as he said, the censure that stung him. The intended punishment was nothing. He was willing to abide by any arrangement for the disposal of the Residency property.* It was not in

* In a subsequent letter he submitted to the Government the following three modes of settling the question:

"First—Let the orders of the Honorable Court be literally fulfilled. Let me pay into the treasury all the extra expenses passed by Government during my Residency on account of plate, furniture, and equipment, and let all the property purchased by me of these descriptions belong to me. Secondly—Let my allowances be put on a footing with those of my predecessor retrospectively to the day of my appointment, and let me repay to the Honorable Company all the extra expense incurred by me in the equipment of the Residency. Let the equipment of the Residency be my own property as in the time of my predecessors. Third—Let the expenses of the Residency under my predecessor, extra as well as established, be added together for the whole period of his incumbency. Let the same operation take place with regard to the expenses of the Resi-

the nature of the man to haggle with Government on a question of rupees. His whole life was a denial of the injurious supposition hinted in the Court's letter. In after years, when the increase of his fortune enabled him to manifest an increased liberality in all his dealings, he was continually taking upon himself charges which ought more properly to have been borne by the State—continually expending his private fortune upon public objects. It is not improbable that the circumstance here narrated gave a new and sustained impulse to his natural liberality; that, mindful of past vexations, he may have determined at any sacrifice to avoid the possibility of their recurrence, and so have fallen into an extreme of liberality which, noble as it is in itself, is not altogether, in respect of its operation upon others, free from certain inconveniences and objections.

But annoyances and vexations, such as have been briefly touched upon in this chapter, are inseparable from high station, whether in the East or in the West; and there were, on the other side, great compensations. Of these the chief was the knowledge that, under his administration, the industrial resources of the Delhi territory were being plenteously developed, and the prosperity of the people greatly increased. At the period of which I am now speaking—the years 1814-15—it was less, perhaps,

dency under me for a period of similar extent. Let me pay the difference if it be against me, and let the equipment of the Residency be my property as it was my predecessors'. I am heartily willing," he added, "to abide by any of these arrangements. If I suffer, I shall suffer by my own proposition."

from the contemplation of what had been done than from the thought of what might be done, under his auspices, on such a field of beneficent action, that he derived solace under the depressing influences of all public and private vexations. He saw, indeed, many great defects in the system under which the affairs of our newly-acquired provinces were administered, and he was eager to introduce reforms which he knew would contribute to the happiness of our subjects. When, therefore, he reported that under the excellent management of Fraser and Gardner—for he was not one who sought to monopolise to himself the credit which rightfully belonged in part to his coadjutors—the revenues of the Delhi territory had greatly increased, and that new breadths of land were being brought under cultivation, he did not disguise from himself, or seek to disguise from Government, the fact that the landed settlement of the Delhi territory was on an unsatisfactory footing, and that justice demanded its entire revision. From a comprehensive report before me, written in 1815, I purpose to make some extracts, illustrative of Charles Metcalfe's views at this time of some important questions of domestic government. We have hitherto seen him principally as a diplomatist. Before passing on to other busy scenes of political strife and military action, let us regard him, for a little while, as an administrator, and see how liberal and large-minded were his views at a time when liberality and large-mindedness, in matters of Indian administration, were rarer qualities than they are in the present more enlightened times.

In this report, after mention has been made of the progressively increasing revenues of the Delhi territory—revenues which had risen between the years 1807-8 and 1813-14 from four lakhs to fifteen lakhs of rupees, and it has been shown that the increase has been mainly an increase in the landed revenue, allusion is made to the *Abkarree*, or spirit tax, and it is shown that the last year of the statement exhibits a considerable decline. This is accounted for by the fact that the men who farmed this part of the revenue had, in the preceding year, bidden too high for the privilege. And if it were not so, humanely argued Metcalfe, there would be nothing to regret:

"A diminution in this branch of revenue is not much to be regretted. There is no danger of a permanent or serious loss as long as people drink spirituous liquors; and any decrease of revenue proceeding from a diminution of consumption would be a cause of joy rather than of regret."

It is, however, to the larger subject of the landed revenue that this report mainly refers. But before the writer passes on to the consideration of it in all its length and breadth, he pauses to speak of the advantages of Canal irrigation, and to urge the completion of the Delhi Canal:

"I cannot refrain," he says, "from taking advantage of this opportunity to bring again to the notice of the Governor-General the subject of the Delhi Canal. This subject has engaged the attention of Government for many years; and all the information relating to it that can be furnished from this place has already been submitted. . . . . It is supposed that the

produce of the canal would, in a very short time, repay the expense of bringing it into order; and it is certain that the restoration of this beneficial work would be productive of a great increase of revenue to Government, and a great increase of comfort, wealth, and health to the inhabitants of the territory and city of Delhi."

Then he enters on the great domain of Land-Revenue, and after discussing the much-vexed question of right in the soil, he thus proceeds to advocate the claims of the village Zumeendars:

"Admitting that the Government has the property of the soil, the question is, as the Government cannot occupy the land, and as the land requires resident proprietors, who are the people that, next to the Government, may be supposed to have the best right? It is here that the paramount claim of the village Zumeendars may be justly, and it is to be hoped, indisputably contended for. What men can have greater rights than those whose ancestors have occupied the same lands and habitations from time immemorial; who live on the soil entirely, and cultivate at their own expense and by their own labour; who receive it by hereditary succession or by purchase; who leave it to their children or, if reduced by necessity, sell it or mortgage it; or if they choose, transfer it by gift during their lives? These rights are exercised by the Zumeendars, and have been exercised for centuries. If they be not sufficient to constitute undoubted property, they are surely sufficient to confer a paramount claim. . . . . Notwithstanding the numerous revolutions which have taken place in this part of India, the rights of the village Zumeendars have generally been held sacred, more sacred, it seems to me, than any other property; and though numerous sorts of oppression have been devised, it does not appear that any oppressor, generally speaking, has presumed to interfere with these rights. It is probable that expediency has operated to secure them, as much, at least,

as justice; but be the cause what it may, it appears to me that the most clear and most distinct rights held in this part of India are those of the village Zumeendars."*

Having thus contended that our engagements ought to be made with this class of proprietors, he proceeds to explain the nature of the settlement which it would be desirable to make. The evil consequences of short settlements had already manifested themselves, and Metcalfe was eager to persuade the Government to grant long ones in their stead. "Settlements," he writes, "should be made for periods of ten, twenty, thirty, forty, fifty, or a hundred years—the longer, perhaps, the better. At all events, the periods should be sufficiently long to admit of considerable profit being made by the cultivators from their own labor and enterprise." "This," he adds, "is the very essence of the system." Its advantages lie upon the surface. "In exchange for

* An interesting illustration of the importance attached to these rights, even by the owners of principalities, which is given in this report, may not inexpediently be cited in this place:

"To show the value," wrote Metcalfe, "set on those rights and the respectable estimation in which they are held, I may mention that Koom Raj Singh, great uncle of the Rajah of Bulumgurh, and sole manager of all the Bulumgurh lands, pointed out to me once, as I was riding with him, a single small village in the territory under his management, of which he boasted, with evident exultation, that he was the Zumeendar, having purchased the zumeendaree from the original Zumeendars. What made it of consequence to him to purchase this petty zumeendaree of a single village? or why did he exult at this acquired right? Why, he knew that the Raj of Bulumgurh would descend to a distinct branch of the family, his regency would in due time expire, the family might be degraded from its high rank in some future revolution, its territories might be seized, its Raj might be lost; but he flattered himself, confidently, that under any circumstances this zumeendaree, purchased with his own money, would descend as a perpetual right to his family untouched and undisturbed by any future Governor or Government. It must seem strange to the inhabitants of India, who so much respect these zumeendaree rights, that the British Government, which professes to consult justice in all its actions, should apparently undervalue rights which have been respected by the most despotic and the most lawless governments."

this insecurity, it is in the power of Government to confer security. Instead of wealth lawlessly acquired by opposition to the Government, and hastily spent to avoid plunder, we may confer the power of acquiring solid, legitimate, and lasting wealth, which shall be cherished, applauded, and upheld by the Government; which shall be a source of consequence in the eyes of the people, and of flattering distinction on the part of the rulers. Then, instead of dissatisfied and disaffected landholders truly complaining that we have injured them by diminishing their consequence and their profits, we may expect to have landholders bound to us by the strongest ties of self-interest, and acknowledging, from irresistible conviction, the incomparable benefits of our rule."

He then proceeded to explain in what manner, under these settlements, the revenue was to be collected. "Every village is inhabited, wholly or partially, by Zumeendars, or possessory proprietors of the land. These are the persons with whom the settlement ought to be made; but as the number of them is generally too great for the transaction of business, a certain number of Mokuddums, or head men, being in general the men of the greatest property and influence in the village, act on the part of the village, agree to terms, sign engagements, and transact negotiations. The village is bound by their acts. The Mokuddums having concluded the settlement with the officers of Government, are charged with the duty of collecting the revenue in the village."

On the good effects of such a system as this, Metcalfe descanted with no common earnestness. He wrote as one whose whole soul was in the cause. He showed how wealth would be accumulated—how security would engender providence—how a spirit of independence would be acquired—how commerce and education would be promoted—how the people would be elevated in the social scale, and rise to a height of moral and intellectual grandeur never attained by them before. It was nothing, he argued, that by so raising them, we might teach them in time to emancipate themselves from our yoke. In spite of all such considerations as this, our duty, he said, was clear:

"There may be those who would argue that it is injudicious to establish a system which, by exciting a free and independent character, may possibly lead, at a future period, to dangerous consequences. . . . . But supposing the remote possibility of these evil consequences, that would not be a sufficient reason for withholding any advantage from our subjects. Similar objections have been made against our attempting to promote the education of our native subjects; but how unworthy it would be of a liberal Government to give weight to such objections. The world is governed by an irresistible Power, which giveth and taketh away dominion; and vain would be the impotent prudence of men against the operations of its almighty influence. All that rulers can do is to merit dominion by promoting the happiness of those under them. If we perform our duty in this respect, the gratitude of India and the admiration of the world will accompany our name throughout all ages, whatever may be the revolutions of Futurity; but if we withhold blessings from our subjects from a selfish apprehension of

possible danger at a remote period, we shall merit that reverse which time has possibly in store for us, and shall fall with the mingled hatred and contempt—the hisses and execrations of mankind."

If this had been written yesterday, there would have been nothing noticeable in it; but forty years ago such language was not often to be found in the despatches of our Indian functionaries. Charles Metcalfe, indeed, was much in advance of his cotemporaries. There were few of his brethren, I fear at this time, in whose breasts such liberal utterances as these would have awakened sympathetic echoes. The system of Land-Revenue which he then desired to introduce into the Delhi territory became substantially, after a lapse of many years, the system which regulated the entire settlement of the North-Western Provinces. The long obscured rights of the village zumeendars were acknowledged; and there is every reason to hope that many of the predictions of the young Delhi Resident are now in course of realisation, under the salutary influence of the system which he advocated with so much warmth.

One more illustration of Charles Metcalfe's early liberality may be derived from the same source. At this time there were few evils, real or supposed, which the members of the Indian Civil Service generally regarded with so much dread and abhorrence as the free admission of European settlers into the interior of the country. Their exclusiveness revolted at the thought of such an intrusion; and they

could see nothing but oppression of the people and danger to the state in such an innovation. But Metcalfe, even at this early period, was guilty of the heresy not only of desiring, but officially recommended that independent Europeans should be invited to bring their capital, their enterprise, and skill freely into the British territories.

"I am aware," he wrote, "that nothing that I can say on this subject would have any weight. I am also sensible that in expressing such opinions, I may be deemed guilty of presumption; but on an occasion like the present, I conceive myself bound to recommend whatever promises to be beneficial, with reference to the subject of this Report; and, therefore, I recommend the free admission of British subjects to settle in India under laws and regulations suited to the state of the country, and unlimited liberty to acquire property by lawful means, as the surest mode of adding to the resources and increasing the strength of our Asiatic Empire."

It was no small thing even with the aid of able and indefatigable assistants, to carry on the civil administration of the extensive districts under the superintendence of the Delhi Resident. But Metcalfe was not one to shrink from any amount of labor. To his civil duties he devoted himself with an assiduity which alarmed many of his friends. Among others Ochterlony, who maintained a close and affectionate correspondence with him, wrote to Metcalfe, in the autumn of 1813, saying: "You will not be long Resident of Delhi, if you pursue your

present course; and I cannot but think that a fair representation of your multifarious and miscellaneous duties would exempt you from all but the intrigues of the Palace and the general political duties, which I do most sincerely believe to be quite sufficient for any one mind that was ever created."

CHAPTER XI.

[1813—1818.]

THE POLITICS OF UPPER INDIA.

Metcalfe's Political Duties—Conduct of the Bhurtpore Rajah—Macherry and Jyepore—Indications of general Inquietude—Lord Moira's Tour in the Upper Provinces—The Nepaul War—Metcalfe's Opinions—Meeting with the Governor-General—Offer of a Secretaryship—Letters on the Subject to Mr. Jenkins—The Secretaryship declined—Death of Metcalfe's Parents.

To the "general political duties" of which Ochterlony spoke — duties which greatly occupied the thoughts and employed the energies of the Delhi Resident—it is now time to advert. On the frontier of his territory were a number of native principalities, our relations with which were under his superintendence; and, although he interfered with them no more than was essential for our security, it was necessary to keep upon all of them a watchful eye, and upon some a restraining hand. It was not likely that the rulers of these states, who were as regardless of what was due to others as they were ignorant of what was really beneficial to themselves, should have continually possessed themselves in peace, and consistently reciprocated the good faith and the good feeling which

was shown towards them by the paramount power. Mistrustful of the good intentions of the British Government, and unscrupulous in their dealings with one another, it was frequently Metcalfe's duty at this time to turn his thoughts from the great work of domestic improvement to the less gratifying duty of controlling the erratic propensities of some neighbouring chief.

At the Delhi Residency, as the Head-Quarters of Diplomacy in Upper India, there was always a cluster of "wakeels," or agents representing the interests of various princes and chiefs in the states contiguous to our own. Some of these were the agents of petty sovereigns—others of predatory chiefs—whose empire was yet to be acquired. But all had business to transact with the Resident—all had questions to put and demands to make. And the less recognised the position of the master, the more preposterous, in all probability, were the proposals of his servant. It was no uncommon thing for one of these "wakeels" to ask Metcalfe's permission for his master to attack some neighbouring state on his own account, or to be employed in the same work of aggression on the part of the British Government. And when these overtures were civilly declined, the agent would sometimes naïvely beseech the Resident to tell him whom he might attack.

But there were more difficult questions than these demanding solution. Among the earliest of our allies, who excited the watchfulness of Metcalfe during his residence at Delhi, was our old enemy of Bhurtpore. After a lapse of eight years, during

which the conduct of the British Government towards him had been uniformly friendly and considerate, he now, in 1813, became suspicious of our designs, and peremptorily signified his intention no longer to suffer a British wakeel to reside at his Court. He had committed many excesses on our frontier; he had destroyed our villages; he had murdered our people; he had carried off our property. But instead of chastising him for these offences, we had sent an accredited agent to his Court, to be the channel of our representations to the Rajah, and thus, it was hoped, to keep him in check. But what was the result? "The petty chief," as Metcalfe wrote, "after using ineffectually his endeavors to prevent the approach of this friendly agent to his capital, tries by ill treatment to compel his employers to recall him; does not permit him to take up his residence at his Court, nor to exercise his functions, nor even to enter the walls of the capital without special permission, and a special guard, but keeps him and his people outside of the town, encamped on the plain, in a state of restraint, and, moreover, persists in this unfriendly course of proceeding, though invited to a more amicable behaviour in the most conciliatory language; and though warned that a continuance of such insulting conduct must inevitably give offence to the British Government."

The minute from which these extracts were taken is a long and elaborate one; full of characteristic energy and determination, clearly and forcibly expressed. It should never be forgotten by the reader,

whose experiences are those only of European life, that the Minutes of the Indian Statesman, in the history of his career, take the place of the orations which, under free governments in the western world, are delivered to senatorial assemblies. The Indian Statesman is not stirred by the excitement of popular applause; his utterances do not reach the ears of hundreds of auditors, and are only in rare instances subsequently reflected by the Press, and dwelt upon by thousands of readers. He writes, in the solitude of his own chamber, under many depressing influences, knowing that what he writes is to count its readers by units; but, writing nevertheless, with his whole heart in his work, earnestly and enthusiastically, and often with a power of expression which in oral discourse would charm a popular assembly. There may be dull writers in India, as there are dull speakers in England; but there are many eloquent exceptions, whom it would be easy to enumerate; and the name of Charles Metcalfe in such an enumeration would be one of the foremost in the list.

In this Minute on Bhurtpore the writer dwelt earnestly on the great forbearance which, throughout many years, had been shown towards the offending state, and he contrasted the course which we had adopted, in this instance, with that which had been followed towards a neighbouring principality—the Rajpoot state of Jyepore. Partly in illustration of Metcalfe's style—partly because I shall come presently to speak of our dealings with Jyepore—the following passage is given. In such brief, pregnant, antithetical sentences Metcalfe always rejoiced:

"It is curious," he wrote, "in adverting to the events of past days, to observe how our policy has operated in favor of Bhurtpore. We formed alliances about the same period with the states of Bhurtpore and Jyepore. Both states on the same occasion were false to their alliances, but in different degrees. Bhurtpore joined and fought with our enemy Holkar. Jyepore only hesitated to fulfil its engagements with us. The one which committed the most venial fault has suffered; the other, which sinned against us more heinously, has been befriended. With Jyepore we kept on terms during the war with Holkar, and made use of its troops against him; but after the war we abandoned it to its fate, and the country has since been overrun by the armies of Holkar and other freebooters. Bhurtpore we had to fight as the ally of Holkar, and we have ever since protected it against all enemies. Jyepore has been sinking every day since we dissolved the alliance with that state, and is now nearly annihilated. Bhurtpore has been growing in wealth, power, and consequence under our protection. Jyepore is now at our feet begging for protection and alliance. Bhurtpore refuses to admit our agent to reside at his Court."

That there was a clear *casus belli* was never doubted. Metcalfe recommended that the British Government should dissolve its alliance with the Bhurtpore Rajah, and send an overwhelming force against his stronghold. He did not counsel the slow process of a regular siege. For some time past we had been unfortunate in our regular sieges. The experiences of the Mahratta war indicated that they were not seldom unsuccessful. Instead, therefore, of attempting to breach Bhurtpore, he recommended that we should carry it by *escalade*. Well acquainted as he was with the peculiar construction of the place, and cognisant with the circumstances,

both of attack and defence, which had resulted in our former inglorious failure, he pointed out, with great precision and distinctness, the causes of our past disasters, and indicated the best means of avoiding them. He was convinced that Bhurtpore would fall beneath a *coup de main.* He believed that we wanted nothing more than the stout heart and the cold steel. He lived to see the English ensign waving over Bhurtpore; but the stronghold was carried by another process.

He waited more than ten years to see the realisation of his hopes. The Government of India were not at this time prepared to undertake a war against Bhurtpore. The Java expedition had diminished our available resources in respect both of money and of men. So our resentment was expressed only by the dismissal of the Bhurtpore agent from Delhi, whilst another and a higher representative of the offended Rajah was permitted to remain at the Court of Calcutta. The intention of Government was officially announced to Metcalfe, whilst Mr. Seton, who, it will be remembered, had taken his seat in the Supreme Council, wrote privately to his old assistant to say that they were deterred from making war, under so great provocation, not by any want of will, but by a lamentable want of means.*

* "How sadly you have been annoyed by that weak, ungrateful man, the Rajah of Bhurtpore. We may say with truth, 'If we could, we would!' He has given us repeated cause of offence; and did the state of our army and our finances (now very low) admit of our meeting the probable consequences of an open rupture, we would of course hold very plain language. But as that is now out of the question, we must avoid showing our teeth—that is, we must, whilst we evince to him that we are dissatisfied with his conduct, take care not to appear too angry—because if we did, we might lead him to suppose that we would fain go to war with him at

In the mean while, the Jyepore state seemed to be at its last gasp. Unprotected by the paramount power, and helpless in itself, it lay at the mercy of all its unscrupulous neighbours, and all the predatory chiefs who were continually looking out for some undefended quarter against which to direct their attacks. That great Rohilla freebooter, Ameer Khan, whose acquaintance Metcalfe had made during the war with Holkar, and whose subsequent career had been one of unbridled excess, was pursuing his course of spoliation wherever the weakness of others tempted him to let loose his banditti; and, another soldier of fortune, Shah Khan, was emulating the Rohilla in deeds of unscrupulous daring. The notorious weakness of Jyepore had long excited the cupidity of the former chief, who in 1811 ravaged the country and reduced the unhappy Prince to a state of feebleness and prostration which bordered closely upon dissolution. But there were other trials still in store for him. Scarcely had Ameer Khan quitted the Jyepore territory, when the Rajah of Macherry,* known as the Rao Rajah, entered it with an invading army, and in the year 1812 took possession of the two forts of Doobbee

once, if we could, and that conclusion would give rise to another, viz., that we are too weak to have recourse to the *ultima ratio regum*. On this ground it is that we must, whilst manifesting our displeasure, preserve our tranquillity; and to borrow an expression from the *Agreeable Surprise*, take care 'not to give him room to suppose his Serene Highness (the Governor-General) is in a passion.' This will explain to you our motive for not doing more than insist upon the Rajah's withdrawing his wakeel from Delhi. Since he will not agree to receive an accredited agent from you, it is but fair that you should dismiss his agent from yours. There were, however, powerful objections to our going still further by dismissing his wakeel, who has hitherto been stationed at Calcutta—or declaring the alliance dissolved."—[*Seton to Metcalfe, June* 21, 1813.]

* Macherry is a state bordering upon Bhurtpore.

and Sikrawa with the territories adjacent to them. This was an outrage which, although Jyepore was not under the protection of the British, was to be remonstrated against and resisted; and Metcalfe accordingly, through the Rajah's wakeels, called upon him to make restitution. In spite, however, of the Delhi Resident's repeated requests, the usurper remained obdurate. All through the year of his acquisition, and all through the following year, he remained in possession of the tracts of country he had snatched from his neighbour.* It was time, therefore, that decided steps should be taken to obtain restitution, so Metcalfe counselled a display of military force; and in the mean while addressed to the Rajah the following spirited letter of warning and remonstrance:

MR. METCALFE TO THE RAO RAJAH.

"From your want of attention to my repeated requisitions for the restoration of Doobbee and Sikrawa to their lawful owner, the Rajah of Jyepore, I am led to conclude that it is not your intention to restore those places.

"If you have no regard for justice; if you think it right in the sight of God to seize the property of another without cause of offence; if you see no difference between the friendship and enmity of the British Government; if you see no good in its

* "He had," says Colonel Sutherland, "so long remained in security, that he had forgotten the danger of involving himself with his neighbours, and thought the British Government would not arm against him in support of the interests of Jyepore. He was, too, supposed to have collected a treasure of nearly half a million sterling. It became a question whether in this state of affairs we should withdraw from the terms of our alliance with the Rao Rajah, and allow Jyepore to revenge its own wrongs, bringing on Ulwur (Macherry) all the evils of an invasion from the forces of that state, those of Ameer Khan, Shah Khan, and other leaders of predatory bands, or whether we should ourselves assemble an army to punish the Rao Rajah."

friendship and no danger in its enmity ; if you prefer the retaining of Doobbee and Sikrawa to the continuance of the friendship of the British Government, and think that you can retain those places in spite of the British Government ; if you prefer war with the British Government to the restoration of those places ; if you feel yourself strong, and fancy the British Government weak ; if you think that success will attend you in war,—then all that I can say will be unavailing. What will be will be.

" But if you believe that the British Government does possess any power ; if you are aware that its anger is to be feared ; if you know that it adheres to a determination once formed, then I conjure you to pay attention to your true interests. Do not, I implore you, suffer designing men to mislead you. They are plotting your ruin, and will rejoice at your destruction.

" Do not imagine from the moderation which has been shown that this point can ever be conceded to you. That is impossible. The British Government has a sincere regard for you ; and therefore has not yet proceeded to forcible measures, in the hope that you may be persuaded by advice and remonstrance to do what is necessary in justice to the Rajah of Jyepore. But if you do not restore Doobbee and Sikrawa, sooner or later measures of another nature will be necessary, and then repentance will be vain.

" Never, never, never will the British Government cease to demand the restoration of Doobbee and Sikrawa to the Rajah of Jyepore ; and if to accomplish that purpose war be unavoidable, however much it will regret the necessity of hostilities, still it will not fail to do its utmost to compel you to perform that indispensable act of justice.

" Take your choice. Choose between the friendship and the anger of the British Government, and tell me plainly what you are determined to do.

" I perform the duty of a friend in giving you warning. If you should be ruined by not following my advice, you will not

have to blame me. I have given you notice. Remember what I say."

Such remonstrances, such warnings as these, were thrown away upon the Rajah. Earnestly, therefore, Metcalfe recommended Government to authorise the employment of a military force to compel the recusant chief to make an unconditional surrender of the places he had conquered, and to pay the expenses of assembling our troops. Lord Moira had by this time entered upon the government of India. The tone in which Metcalfe wrote on the subject to his friend John Adam, then Political Secretary, pleased the new Governor-General, to whom the Delhi letters were confidentially submitted, and impressed him with a high opinion of the moral and intellectual qualities of the Resident.* The authority which Metcalfe sought was granted to him. A military force was assembled; a demonstration was made. The British troops advanced within a march of the capital; and then the Rajah yielded to our demands.

* "I could not refuse myself the satisfaction of communicating your letters confidentially to Lord Moira, who entered fully and cordially into the spirit and tendency of your reasoning, and is disposed to go the full length of all your views in the event of the early submission of the Rao Rajah not disarming us. He considers your letter to contain a very able view of the affairs to which it refers, and not less just than able. It is his opinion that the mere submission of a power, which has forced you into an expensive and hazardous appeal to arms, even though accompanied by the cession of the objects in dispute, to be insufficient for the interests of a state (I use his own words)—that there should be infliction to deter others from imposing upon us a similar embarrassing necessity, and other observations to the same effect. If we actually engage in war, then I have little doubt that he will be disposed to make the Rajah smart for his conduct. The instructions of the 1st authorise you to reduce him to unconditional submission in the case supposed. To-day I shall send you an answer to your last despatch, conveying authority to enforce payment of the expense of assembling the troops, even if he should surrender before the sword is drawn."—[*John Adam to Charles Metcalfe, November* 15, 1813.]

The places which he had usurped were restored to their legitimate owners; and he was compelled to open his treasury to repay us for the expenses we had incurred in bringing him thus tardily to reason.

Viewed by themselves, these were but small matters, scarcely deserving of the space, which I have bestowed upon them, in such a memoir as this. But they were parts of a great aggregate of evil—examples of the confused and embarrassing state of our relations with the numerous petty states of Central India, resulting from those great peace measures of 1806, which Metcalfe at the time criticised with so much severity and censured with so much warmth. It appeared to him now that we were beginning to reap the difficulties and perplexities we had sown; and that a general adjustment of our relations with these states was imperatively demanded for the security of our position and the establishment of a permanent peace. We were now, indeed, on the threshold of great events. It was plainly foreseen that some vast political changes were at hand; and there was not a statesman of high repute between the banks of the Jumna and the western coast who was not eager for the settlement of which I have spoken, even though it should be preceded by a great and burdensome war. The crisis, indeed, was close upon us. Compromises and concessions could not much longer retard its approach.

The most peaceful rulers who ever governed our Indian Empire have left to their successors a sad heritage of political convulsion, military strife, and financial embarrassment. The greatest wars which

have taxed the wisdom of our Indian statesmen and the energies of our Indian armies have been undertaken by the successors of Lord Teignmouth, Lord Minto, and Lord William Bentinck. It seems as though in the eastern world the moderation of our rulers could bear only the bitter fruit of war and conquest—that forbearance in one year were but the antecedent of compulsory violence and aggression in another—that the most steadfast resolution to go so far and no farther, formed, in all honesty and all wisdom, by the least ambitious of our statesmen, could only pave the way to new victories and new additions of territory to an empire already "overgrown."

When in the autumn of 1813 Lord Minto sailed from India, the country, as he believed, was lapped in universal repose. But scarcely had Lord Moira seated himself in the vacant chair, when it seemed to him that war was inevitable. Mutterings of distant hostility reached him from many quarters, and stirred the heart of the old soldier as with the sound of a trumpet. He did not long remain inactive at the Presidency. His associates in the Supreme Government dissented from the views of the Governor-General, and strife between them was speedily engendered. In the autumn of 1814 Lord Moira turned his back upon the Presidency; and then the war became a war of minutes. Into the merits of this controversy I am not called upon to enter. It is sufficient to state the fact, that the greater part of the long administration, on which this narrative has now entered, was disturbed by continual hostilities

with neighbouring states. The first of these was a war with Nepaul. The depredations committed by the Goorkhas on our borders—the continual insecurity of our frontier which the conduct of these hardy mountaineers entailed upon us—called for a display of military force. Preparations were made for the coercion of our offending neighbours; and the commencement of the ensuing cold season—the cold season of 1814-15—saw our armies again in motion.

The events of the Goorkha war are not connected with the biography of Charles Metcalfe by any other link than that of the correspondence which he carried on with many of the chief actors in it—with Ochterlony, with Jasper Nicolls, with the young Engineer Lawtie, with his old assistant Gardner, now employed in a political capacity on the Nepaul frontier, and with others, who contributed more or less to the ultimate success of our operations. The correspondence was not a cheering one. For some time it treated mainly of misfortune. The war opened with a disastrous failure at Kalunga, where the gallant Gillespie, attempting to carry a strong fortress without breaching, was shot through the heart at the head of his men. Ochterlony, aided, as in his generous candor the veteran ever delighted to acknowledge, by the brave-hearted, quick-witted subaltern Lawtie, achieved some partial success; but he did not think that he was strong enough to follow them up; he had never been able to perceive the wisdom of the war, and had little taste for the ser-

vice on which he was employed.* Marley and Wood failed miserably. Nicolls did better things, and laid the foundation of an honorable fame. But, looking at the whole, the outset of the war was calamitous and discreditable; and Metcalfe, disappointed by repeated tidings of failure and disaster, began to think that the beginning of the end had arrived, and that our Indian Empire would soon be shaken to the base. It was his opinion that a grand cardinal error had been committed in not effecting the settlement of Central India before entering upon this Goorkha campaign. It was his opinion that we were too prone to under-rate the strength and despise the resources of our enemies; that our failures generally resulted from over-confidence; that we were far too prone to fling ourselves, without ordinary caution, upon the strongholds of our enemies; and that inasmuch as that our tenure of India was dependent upon the assertion of our military superiority in the field, and that as on several recent occasions this superiority had been assumed rather than demonstrated, our very position in India was threatened by the recurrence of such failures. There were remedies for this he believed at our command, and it was our duty to resort to them. What they were he was eager to indicate—and, in a paper which he

* On his first appointment to command a division of the army in the field, Ochterlony wrote to Metcalfe: "A new sort of service, my dear friend!! I have not the least objection to a proper vindication of the national honor, and, if necessary, an attack on the heart of their empire, Catamandoo, or some of the members in this quarter; but to set off with the idea of overthrowing a long-established Government, and for such an unprofitable purpose, appears to me the most Quixotic and the most impolitic measure we have ever attempted—setting aside all physical difficulties."—[*August* 25, 1814. *MS. Correspondence.*]

forwarded to Lord Moira, in November, 1814, he emphatically set them forth. He was a civilian; but he was no novice in the art of war; he had lived much in the camp; he had seen much of military operations; he had observed our failures, as he had our successes, and traced both to their source. It was no presumption in him, therefore, to write on military questions, as affected by local circumstances in Upper India, even for the guidance of so ripe a soldier as the man then at the head of affairs.

At this time, holding the offices both of Governor-General and Commander-in-Chief, Lord Moira, attended by a numerous suite, was progressing through the Upper Provinces of Hindostan. It was subsequently arranged that the Delhi Resident, accompanied by the "wakeels" of the different native Courts within his diplomatic circle, should meet the Vice-regal Camp at Moradabad. But early in November there was a conjuncture of circumstances which rendered Metcalfe's detention at the imperial city a very probable state-necessity, so he despatched to his friend John Adam, Political Secretary, his paper on the conduct of the war, to be submitted to the Governor-General. "I transmit," he wrote, "the accompanying, for submission to Lord Moira, with some trepidation; because I am not sure that his Lordship will approve of my intruding my thoughts on his notice, on a subject not perhaps within the bounds of my official duty; nevertheless, I transmit it under a conviction, probably erroneous, but working powerfully in my mind, that the subject demands early consideration

in the point of view in which I have stated it—in which point of view it may not for some time be seen unless brought to notice. His Lordship may deem my opinions absurd, and my conduct in thrusting those opinions upon him presumptuous, but he will, I trust, bestow an indulgent consideration on the motive by which I am actuated; and pardon a presumption which proceeds solely from anxiety for the public welfare."

In the paper thus submitted to the Governor-General, Metcalfe, after alluding to the recent disaster at Kalunga, proceeded to declare his opinion that we held India only by the sword, and that the overawing weapon was being blunted in our hands:

"Every successive failure of this description is more disastrous on account of its influence on the stability of our power than on account either of the lamentable fall of brave men, or the temporary derangement of the plans of Government, much as both of these effects are to be deplored.

"The present opportunity is taken for attempting to bring this subject to notice, in the hope that the recollection of the circumstances of our recent disaster may procure some attention to opinions, which cannot derive any weight from their owner, which would probably be disregarded in a time of peace, and might appear ridiculous in a career of uninterrupted victory. These opinions were first excited by personal observations in the field, and have been strengthened by attention to subsequent events. . . . .

"Whatever delusions may prevail in England respecting the security to be derived from the affections of our Indian subjects, and a character for moderation and forbearance with foreign native states, it will probably be admitted in India, that our power depends solely on our military superiority. Yet

there is reason to apprehend that our comparative superiority is in some measure diminished in consequence of a general increase of discipline, experience, skill, and confidence, on the part of the military of India."

Having laid down these general propositions, which may, perhaps, be disputed, he proceeds to declare what is indisputable—that there was, as there still is, in our armies a dangerous tendency to under-rate the strength of our enemies. Metcalfe had seen something of this in the Mahratta war. He was familiar with the language of the camp. He knew that it was the fashion to speak slightingly of both the courage and the prowess of our enemies. He knew that men, who accepted with caution these disparaging estimates, were called "croakers;" that it was considered, indeed, something almost ignominious to question our ability to crush all opposition at a blow. And, knowing this, he felt that at the outset of what promised to be a long and harassing campaign there was nothing more to be guarded against than this over-weening confidence in our gallantry, our resources, and our fortune:

"It is desirable, in the first instance, that the favorable reports received beforehand relative to the weakness of an enemy's fortresses and the inefficiency of his troops should be listened to with caution. Men of sanguine dispositions give favorable reports, and anticipate unqualified victories, without reflecting on the possibility of difficulties and the chances of failure, because it is in their nature to do so. Other men, not sanguine, are generally very loth to express an unfavorable opinion. There is always the chance of success. Encouraging intelligence is always the more agreeable; and men do not like

to subject themselves to the reproach of being alarmists. We are apt to despise our opponents, till from defeat we acquire an opposite sensation. Before we come to the contest, their powers of resistance are ridiculed. Their forts are said to be contemptible, and their arms are described to be useless. Yet we find on the trial, that with these useless weapons in their contemptible forts they can deal about death among their assailants, and stand to their defences, notwithstanding the skill and bravery of our army. If we were not misled beforehand by a flattering persuasion of the facility of conquest, we should take greater pains to secure it."

These pregnant truths are truths equally to be regarded now, after the lapse of forty years of conquest, not unchequered by repeated disaster. It were well that a warning voice, again and again proclaiming them, should be lifted up at the outset of every new campaign.

After speaking in detail of past disasters, of some of which, as our great miscarriage at Bhurtpore, he had personal cognisance, he proceeded to express a very strong conviction that we had failed in all our sieges to turn our ordnance to the best account—that if we were to bring into the field powerful mortar-batteries, with good stores of shells, and try the effect of a brisk and long-continued vertical fire upon the besieged places, they would, if not evacuated by the enemy, be easily carried by assault:

"We have on our side," he said, "the science of Europe, and we ought to bring it into play. Economy in this department is ruinous. We ought to be lavish of the contents of our arsenals, and saving of the lives of our men. We ought to make

defence impracticable and hopeless. We ought to overpower resistance by the vastness of our means. There is a branch of equipment in sieges which might be made of more use than it is at present to the great annoyance of the enemy, and frequently to its total expulsion. A great number of mortars and an abundant supply of shells should be attached to every besieging army. There are many situations in which, from the natural difficulties of the position, an assault cannot take place without considerable hazard of failure. In such cases, an incessant shower of shells, day and night, might make the place too warm for the garrison, and obviate the necessity of a storm. There are other occasions in which it may be desirable to avoid the delay of all the operations of a siege. And on such occasions bombarding day and night might accomplish the object in a short time. There are some situations for which the mode of operation is peculiarly suitable—for instance, the small hill forts of the Goorkhas appear to be of this description; and had Kalunga been bombarded day and night for as many days as we were before it prior to our attempt to storm it, it is probable that we should not now have to lament our disastrous failure at that place, and the loss of our gallant general and his brave companions in death."

These practical considerations Metcalfe supported by adducing several instances of the success of shelling derived from the recent annals of Indian warfare. On some occasions he admitted that it might be expedient "for the speedy accomplishment of a great object to risk a hazardous assault." The capture of Alighur by a *coup de main* at the very commencement of the Mahratta war, had tended, in no small measure, to secure the success of all our subsequent operations. Metcalfe had been of opinion only a little while before this paper was written, that if we again undertook to besiege Bhurtpore, it

would be expedient to attempt to carry it by a *coup de main*.* But these were exceptional cases; and the writer continued to dwell upon the expediency of following the more cautious mode of operation. One thing, at all events, was certain. If war were to be made, it was expedient to make it with full consideration, and with sufficient means. We were at this time on the threshold of some momentous enterprises. The Indian army did not seem, as then constituted, to be competent to the successful performance of the great work that lay before it. So Metcalfe did not hesitate to denounce the thrifty policy of the Home Government, and to call for an augmentation of the army:

"The writer of these remarks," he said, in conclusion, "does not shrink from briefly stating his opinion, that an increase of our army is highly expedient, and, perhaps, absolutely necessary for our existence in India; and that we ought to govern our policy by different considerations from those which regulate the orders of the Government at home. Our power on India rests upon our military superiority. It has no foundation in the affections of our subjects. It cannot derive support from the good will or good faith of our neighbours. It can only be upheld by our military prowess, and that policy is best suited to our situation in India which tends in the greatest degree to increase our military power by all means consistent with justice."

Looking at our recent disaster at Kalunga with the eye of a true soldier—the eye of one who had once been what old Sir Theophilus used to call the

* See *ante*, pages 377-378.

"Nurse of King's officers"—Metcalfe, in this paper, hit the blot to a nicety, and suggested the true remedy. His recommendations were justified by the result. After another failure, rendered memorable by something even more lamentable than the death of the gallant Gillespie, the effect of a bombardment was tried. Never was anything more completely successful. Our mortars and howitzers did terrible execution among the defiant garrison of Kalunga. In a little while the air was tainted by the decaying bodies of heaps of men destroyed by our murderous shells, and all resistance was at an end. Out of the six hundred defenders of the place only seventy escaped. The fortress was speedily demolished; and soon passing travellers related that not one stone was left upon another.

The general opinions officially expressed in the concluding passages of the memorandum had found utterance a few days before in a private letter to Metcalfe's old friend Richard Jenkins, then Resident at Nagpore, whom he had not seen for many years, but whom he still affectionately remembered. Jenkins, who now become a mature statesman, shared with Elphinstone and Metcalfe the honors of the highest Diplomatic Triumvirate in the country, had drawn up an elaborate paper on our alliances with the states in the direction of the Berar country and the Nerbudda territories; and a copy of it had been sent to the Delhi Resident, who read it with delight, and returned it with the following letter to the writer—a letter in which Metcalfe expounds his general views of the extent to which it behoved the

British Government to adhere to, or depart from, their system of non-interference:

CHARLES METCALFE TO RICHARD JENKINS.

"November 3, 1814.

"My dear Jenkins,—I lately received the accompanying from Strachey by your desire, and am much obliged to you for the perusal of its interesting contents. I congratulate you on the accomplishment of your views, so far as that, the subsidiary alliance being rejected by the Rajah, a connexion is to be formed with Bhopal and Sagur, &c. How impracticable the non-interference system is found to be; or if practicable, how constantly it is deviated from! Nothing can be more desirable than an advance in your quarter, either by a subsidiary alliance with Nagpore, or by the arrangements now in contemplation. Therefore, I rejoice at this partial abandonment of the non-interference system. But I want to see it openly renounced as absurd and impracticable in our present situation. Let our policy be guided by justice and moderation, but let us take every fair opportunity of securing and aggrandising our power.

"We require, by-the-by, an increase of revenue to enable us to maintain an increase of the army, rendered necessary to all appearance by the extension of our connexions, as well as the great extent of our frontier. I do not know, however, that an increase of the army is in contemplation, or that the necessity is admitted by those who are to judge; I only speak my own sentiments on this point. It is curious to observe how frequently we are compelled by policy to deviate from our *fixed* principles. I remember the time when the advancement of our influence on the Sutlej was reprobated even by Lord Wellesley as too great an extension of our views. Subsequently proposals to that effect were repeatedly rejected, until my mission to Lahore, which produced at least the benefit of an arrangement that has been attended with the best effects; though when I went on that mission it was not in contemplation to protect the chiefs between the Sutlej and the Jumna,

other plans being in contemplation for the conciliation of Runjeet Singh, whom at that time it was impossible to conciliate. Our subsequent interference in favor of Nagpore against Meer Khan was another deviation from our system, and a very wise one. I only regret that we did not take advantage of the opportunity to make the Rajah purchase our permanent protection on our own terms. Various arrangements since have shown other deviations from our system; and it only remains to renounce a system from which we are always compelled to deviate. Our power in India is so strangely constituted, that unless we take advantage of all fair opportunities to increase our strength, we may meet some day with unexpected reverses, and have our power shaken to its centre, if not overturned. It is doubtful, I think, how long we shall preserve our wonderful empire in India; but the best chance of preserving it must arise from our making ourselves strong by all just means; not from an absurd system which would affect to look on with indifference at the increasing strength of others, and to trust for our existence to the unattainable character of unambitious amiable innocence and forbearance. Are you acquainted with the plans of Government regarding Nepaul? If not, I can send you some information regarding them.

"It is long since I received your affectionate and kind letter written on your return to Nagpore. When are we destined to meet? It is now more than eight years since I last had the happiness of seeing you, and God knows when I shall see you again. But I hope to retain your friendship as long as we live, and to pass many happy days with your hereafter. Believe me, with faithful attachment,

"Your affectionate friend,

"C. T. METCALFE."

Such opinions as are here expressed were not distasteful at head-quarters. The paper which Metcalfe forwarded to Lord Moira was favorably re-

ceived;* and it was soon responded to by an invitation to the writer to visit the Governor-General's camp. "As the immediate urgency," wrote John Adam, on the 21st of November, "for your remaining at Delhi has diminished, Lord Moira has desired me to say that he will be happy if you can meet him at Moradabad, where he expects to arrive in ten days from this date. . . . . His Lordship is of opinion that as you are yourself to come to Moradabad, it will be more convenient to bring your host of native visitors to that station, or near it, than to postpone them till his arrival at Kurnaul, as proposed in Swinton's letter to you."† This business of the reception was, indeed, an important one. The near approach of the Vice-regal Camp had thrown not only the royal family of Delhi, but the whole circle of native diplomatists, into a state of excitement; and arrangements were now to be made both for the reception of his Majesty's delegates and the crowd of lesser wakeels, and for a deputation of

* On the first receipt of the paper, John Adam had written to Metcalfe that there was little doubt of his Lordship's approbation. "The indispensable measure," he said, "of augmenting the military force is, I fear, not to be expected. With respect to the mode of conducting operations against fortified places, his Lordship's judgment had long since adopted a conclusion corresponding to yours; and the utmost care has been taken not only to furnish the forces destined to act against the Nepaulese with an ample equipment of mortars, howitzers, and shells, but to enjoin in the most positive manner the use of them to the utmost. The neglect of this order at Kalunga it is too late to discuss, and must ever be lamented."—[*John Adam to Charles Metcalfe, November* 20, 1814. *MS. Correspondence.*]

† Metcalfe had proposed Meerut as a fit place for the reception of the native diplomatists, but the course of the Governor-General's progress had been changed; it was suggested that Kurnaul would be a better place "to meet them," wrote Mr. Swinton, who was then Persian Secretary, "as we come down on Delhi." "By this arrangement," he added, "we should not have too much of their company, which, with the large party of ourselves, is certainly not desirable."—[*George Swinton to Charles Metcalfe, November* 15, 1814. *MS. Correspondence.*]

British functionaries to the Imperial Court. On this subject Mr. Adam wrote, in the letter above quoted, to Metcalfe:

"As Lord Moira will not visit Delhi himself, unless under circumstances which I cannot anticipate, his Lordship has it in contemplation to send to his Majesty a deputation of compliment. It is proposed that this deputation shall consist of Ricketts, Swinton, and myself, and two of his Lordship's immediate personal staff—for example, the Military Secretary and the First Aide-de-camp. I have been desired to mention the subject to you for the purpose of obtaining your sentiments on the propriety and expediency of the thing generally, and in order that the ceremonial of the reception may be previously adjusted."*

"I am going immediately to meet his Lordship at Moradabad," wrote Metcalfe to Jenkins on the 24th of November. By the end of the month he was in the Vice-regal Camp. The ceremonies, of

* Some grave questions of no very easy solution, arising out of the windy dignity of the poor puppet of Delhi, had suggested themselves to the authorities at head-quarters. It was not improbable that the Mogul, considering rather what he, or his ancestors, had been, than what he was, would refuse to pay to the Governor-General such compliments as the Governor-General was willing to pay to him. This especially in the matter of nuzzurs or presents of homage—the interchange of which Lord Hastings considered desirable to avoid even with the King—but he intimated that he would not object to it, if required, "or to any other indispensable forms, under a conviction that they cannot be misconstrued into demonstrations of homage on his own part." "His Lordship," added Mr. Adam, "will also expect that if his deputation present nuzzurs to the King, his Majesty's deputation will present nuzzurs to the Governor-General, and in all respects perform the same or corresponding ceremonies." The apprehensions here glanced at were justified by the result. Metcalfe could not persuade the unhappy King that, if he were to meet the Governor-General at all, it was incumbent upon him to meet his Lordship as an equal. The Shah still required that some acknowledgment of his superiority should be shown; so the Governor-General declined the interview. "Have the goodness, therefore," wrote the Chief Secretary to Metcalfe, after the former had left the camp of the Governor-General, "with your accustomed diplomatic ability, to reconcile the King to the impracticability of a meeting."

which he was then master, were soon over, and more serious business was in hand.

There were many important questions to be put to the Delhi Resident—much information to be sought which only he could satisfactorily afford:—what effect our recent disasters had upon the people of the Delhi territory and the adjacent country, and on the minds of the dependent chiefs and independent princes of Hindostan—what would be their influence on the mind of Runjeet Singh—what steps should be taken to counteract such influence—what course of conduct ought to be pursued towards Bhurtpore—whether, and under what circumstances, the Governor-General should have a personal interview with the King of Delhi—whether the power of granting native titles should be left in the hands of the imperial puppet, or assumed by the British Government—whether an agent from Shah Soojah, the fugitive King of Cabul, should be received in the Vice-regal Camp—and, lastly, what was the general political and military condition of the Upper Provinces of India, with reference to the defence of our frontier and the expediency of consolidating our power in the interior of India. For the solution of all these questions, the Governor-General and his Ministers looked eagerly to Metcalfe's arrival in camp.*

At Lord Moira's head-quarters were many able men. Civilians of high repute and soldiers of large experience and sound judgment clustered around

* "Memorandum of Points for discussion with Mr. Metcalfe," drawn up by Mr. John Adam.—[*MS. Records.*]

him. It happened that the chief of these were Charles Metcalfe's friends—Charles Ricketts, John Adam, and George Swinton, the Chief Ministerial Functionaries; and George Fagan, the Adjutant-General, all knew and esteemed Metcalfe—nay, they loved him; and now they eagerly welcomed among them one whose public character and personal qualities were equally valued by them. They had all spoken of him to Lord Moira in language of becoming admiration. To the Governor-General, indeed, who had often heard, and on perusing the despatches of the Delhi Resident had echoed, his praises, Metcalfe was presented as no stranger. He was received at once into the councils of the Vice-regal Camp. Such an accession of strength in such a juncture was more than welcome.

For the juncture was one which in the eyes of Lord Moira and his staff demanded the exercise of all the talent that could be pressed into their service. The Goorkhas, who were defying us from their hill-forts; the Pindarrees, who were ravaging our frontiers; the Mahratta princes, who, sheltered by the name of ally, were looking eagerly for a favorable opportunity to assail us—were not the only enemies whose skill and courage at this time disquieted the Governor-General. There was a contest raging between the Head-quarters' Camp and the Council-chamber of Calcutta; and the Pindarrees of Leadenhall-street, with their restrictions and retrenchments, were assailing the rear of the Governor-General. Mr. Edmonstone was then Vice-President of the Council. Mr. Seton and Mr. Dowdeswell were his associates in the Government.

The current business of the administration was in the hands of these three gentlemen; and though the power of war-making and peace-making belonged to the Governor-General, the councillors had still the means of conducting an opposition which, however futile for the time, might, backed by the Court of Directors and the Board of Control, eventually be successful, and was, at all events, embarrassing and annoying.

Edmonstone was a host in himself. He had immense experience; a sound head; a ready pen; and a reputation second to none in India. It was with deep sorrow that he arrayed himself against the Governor-General; but what he believed to be his duty, he was not one to shrink from doing, and he recorded his opinions with the calm confidence of one never doubting the goodness of his cause, but deploring the necessity of asserting it. Lord Moira respected his opponent; as did all the ministerial officers in his camp—but he was not on that account less anxious to refute him. He saw the necessity of having able men at his elbow to expound his opinions and to give effect to his projects; and he soon saw that Metcalfe was one who would enter with his whole soul into the views of the Governor-General, making light of those very difficulties which were being continually paraded before him by his antagonists of the Calcutta Council. The longer Metcalfe remained in the camp of the Governor-General, the more plainly it appeared that his policy was identical with that which Lord Moira was inclined to favor. Indeed, the boldness and decision with which Metcalfe declared his opinions, seemed to

fix and rivet those of the Governor-General and disperse all doubts and misgivings. It was pleasing to the old soldier to be thus supported by one of the ablest of India's younger statesmen; and all the ministerial officers by whom he was surrounded delighted in the thought that they had obtained the assistance of so thorough-going and efficient an ally.

Invited to declare his opinions freely, Metcalfe not only delivered them, without reservation, in oral discourse, but fully expounded them in elaborate minutes. In one written in December, 1814, in the Governor-General's Camp, he laid down a detailed plan for the settlement of Central India, prefaced by a series of general propositions, declaring that everything must give place to the necessity of maintaining an overwhelming military establishment.* But it was apparent to him, that now that we had once embarked in the Nepaul war, nothing else could be done until we extricated ourselves from it with honor. The dangers it had entailed upon us, he said, were great; for England could not fail with impunity, and we were now surrounded with enemies all eager to take advantage of our discomfiture:†

* More detailed mention of this paper will be found in the following chapter.

† That Metcalfe, at this time, was not inclined to under-rate the extent of our failures, or the danger which they brought upon us, may be gathered from some passages in a letter written to Mr. Jenkins about this time (Jan. 15, 1815). In this letter the writer says: "We have met with an enemy who shows decidedly greater bravery and greater steadiness than our troops possess; and it is impossible to say what may be the end of such a reverse of the order of things. In some instances our troops, European and Native, have been repulsed by inferior numbers with sticks and stones. In others our troops have been charged by the enemy sword in hand, and driven for miles like a flock of sheep. In a late instance of complete rout, we lost more muskets by a great number than there were killed, wounded, and missing. In short, *I*,

"There is Runjeet Singh," he wrote in a paper given to Lord Moira, in January, 1815, "looking eagerly on from the north-west. There is Meer Khan within a few marches of the Delhi and Agra frontiers. There are Scindiah and the Rajah of Nagpore settling whether they shall attack us or not; and thus virtually menacing our frontier from Agra down to Kuttack. There are the Pindarrees ready to pour themselves into every defenceless country. Had the operations of our campaign against the Goorkhas been decidedly successful, the war would have increased our reputation and power; and so far from encouraging any hostile designs of other powers, would have deterred all enemies from such designs. But when our numerous enemies see us entangled and embarrassed in an unsuccessful war, it is hardly to be expected that they will refrain from taking advantage of such a favorable opportunity, unless they be overawed by suitable arrangements and proportionate exertions on our part."

Under such circumstances Metcalfe argued that it was desirable to conclude peace with Nepaul as soon as a blow could be struck at the Goorkha power—such a blow as would relieve us of all apprehensions of their again inviting a contest with the British. This, he said, could only be done by commencing

who have always thought our power in India precarious, cannot help thinking that our downfall has already commenced. Our power rested solely on our military superiority. With respect to one enemy, that is gone. In this war, dreadful to say, we have had numbers on our side, and skill and bravery on the side of our enemy. We have had the inhabitants of the country disposed to favor us, and yet overawed, notwithstanding our presence and partial success, by the character of our enemy."

operations upon a much larger scale than had been previously instituted. "Let every effort," he said, "be made to open the next campaign with an overwhelming force. And, finally, let every opportunity be embraced for concluding an honorable peace, since it is only by a ruinous expense and unprecedented exertions that entire success is to be expected in a continuance of the war." No better recommendation than this could have been offered. But how was it to be carried into effect? Metcalfe declared that the crisis was a great one; and that it was incumbent on the Government to make extraordinary exertions to bring an overwhelming force into the field. "Reinforcements of Europeans and natives," he said, "should be brought to as great an amount as can be obtained from the other Presidencies. European regiments should be called from our other colonies, even from England. Every exertion," he continued, "that would be made in times of imminent peril ought to be made now to ward off a peril which appears to be not improbable." "We never had," said Metcalfe, "an enemy to contend with in India so formidable as our present enemy. None other ever displayed so much bravery in action or so much system, skill, and conduct, so much prudent caution, and so much well-timed confidence. None other ever possessed a country so easily defended and so difficult to the invader, and so detrimental to the peculiar advantages which we should otherwise have over our enemy. All these considerations demand serious attention. Let us resolve

to evince to this bold enemy that we have the means of crushing him. If we cannot secure an opportunity of defeating his assembled army in the field, let us show him that we can collect a force against which opposition would be fruitless. Let us show him that our resources are not confined to local means; and that if a small army be not sufficient to revenge our wrongs, the British nation can send us an overpowering one."

It was not, said Metcalfe, his duty to determine the amount of force necessary for the overthrow of the Goorkhas, but he knew that it was the worst folly to attempt it with insufficient means, and he believed that "if the object could not be accomplished by the application of our local means in men and money, we ought without loss of time to require the necessary assistance from England." "To conclude," he said, "the wisest course would seem to be to prosecute the war with such an immense force as shall either enable us to overthrow the enemy, and completely defeat his armies at all points, or shall reduce him to submission to our terms, by convincing him of the inutility of opposition. If anything be left to chance, though we may succeed, we may also fail, and the chances are against us, from the nature of the enemy's country and our inexperience in mountain warfare."

The truth of all these propositions was acknowledged, and the suggestions put forth were "approved" by the Governor-General. Indeed, what in this paper was so emphatically propounded, had already been submitted, in another shape, to Lord

Moira, and had elicited his approbation.* Many were the papers which, at this and a little later period, he drew up for the guidance of the Governor-General,† and very much that he then wrote was

* I find the following memorandum, in the handwriting of Mr. Ricketts, the Private Secretary, giving an abstract of one set of recommendations which Metcalfe laid before Lord Moira, with the Governor-General's acceptance of the proposals:

"*Metcalfe.* — 1*st.* To endeavor to bring the Goorkha war to a termination, by aiding the operations of the regular detachments, with the services of bodies of irregulars.—[*Approved.*]

"2*nd.* Negotiations with Scindiah, Bopal, and Sangor.—[*See Political Correspondence.*]

3*rd.* To carry the increase of our army, regular and irregular, to the utmost extent practicable, &c.—[*Approved.*]

"4*th.* To ascertain the real object of the Rajah of Nagpore, Meer Khan, Mahomed Shah Khan, &c. — [*Approved.*]

"His Lordship will be happy to receive the further recommendations promised by Mr. Metcalfe."

† A catalogue of these papers is given in the following extract from a letter written to Mr. Jenkins in May, 1816:

"Many thanks," wrote Metcalfe, "for your permission to see your letter on the Political State of India. I shall apply to Close for it. Elphinstone told me it was admirable. I would with the greatest pleasure send you mine, though I fear the very reverse of admirable; and it requires a little detail to explain why I cannot. I happened to be the first in the field in writing on this subject. After the first failure at Kalunga, I thought the opportunity a good one for procuring attention to opinions strongly impressed on my mind, which I knew would be unpopular, and I volunteered a paper to Lord Moira on the causes of our numerous failures of late years, beginning with that of Bhurtpore, and on the necessity of adopting measures to ensure success. This was answered by a call to head-quarters. Immediately after my arrival there, I gave in a paper on the measures to be pursued in consequence of the state of affairs at that period. This was soon followed by another, containing a view of the Political State of India, or as Adam called it, De Rebus Omnibus, and recommending the settlement of Central India, the suppression of all predatory powers, the protection of all weak powers, the acquisition of as much territory and revenue as the chances of just war might throw into our hands; and in short, the establishment of our supreme influence over the whole country within the Sutlej and Indus. This was followed by another paper on the progress of the Goorkha war, next by one on an alliance with Jyepore—then one on our military policy and establishments—then another on the settlement of Central India—with several intermediate ones which I do not accurately recollect. The whole would form a large volume—but they were all written in such haste, that of the greater part I have no record, the drafts having been sent from my hand to the principal Private Secretary, and never returned, and of the few foul drafts which remain in my possession I have taken no care, not thinking them worth the perusal of any one, except the person for whose information they were written, and on whose want of information I presumed to give value to the matter, notwithstanding the faults of the composition. If, however, I can ever put my hand on any, I will send them with all their faults on their heads. Success to your negotiation. Wish the same to mine, for I am about to commence one with Jyepore. Sooner

embodied, in substance, and sometimes in his very words, in the minutes of the head of the Government. He spent about a month—including the Christmas and New Year of 1814-15—in the camp of the Governor-General, making himself all this time very useful and very agreeable, and leaving a blank behind him when he went. His separation, however, from his friends of the Governor-General's Staff was not of a very long continuance. The pride of the poor Mogul, who insisted upon the acknowledgment of his superiority over the British Viceroy, prevented, as has been seen, Lord Moira's visit to Delhi; but a deputation, consisting of the principal officers of his public and private Staff, was to proceed, soon after Metcalfe's departure, to the Court of the pageant-king; and, at the same time, Lady Loudoun,* with a considerable retinue, was to visit the imperial city. When, therefore, Metcalfe returned to Delhi, it was his pleasing duty to make preparations for the reception of his friends, and to reciprocate the hospitalities he had received.

How, for some little time after this, Metcalfe was compelled to play the part of Master of the Ceremonies—to introduce the British deputation to the Mogul Emperor—to attend Lady Loudoun—to manage the meeting of the Countess with the Begum Sumroo, and to superintend the introduction of her Highness to the Governor-General, need not be told in detail. Before the month of January had worn

or later, if not very soon, we must undertake the subjugation of all India."

* The lady of the Governor-General—a countess in her own right.

to a close, Metcalfe was again in the Governor-General's Camp, and again in council with his Ministers. Throughout a considerable part of February he remained at head-quarters, and the longer he remained the more strongly was Lord Moira impressed with the conviction that in the great battle which he was about to fight for the settlement of Central India, both with his colleagues in the local Government and with the Home authorities, it would be expedient to have at his elbow a man who so well understood the whole subject, and who was prepared with such an array of arguments in defence of the policy which was favored at head-quarters.

But how was this to be accomplished, consistently with existing arrangements? How was Metcalfe to be removed from Delhi to a seat worthy of his acceptance in the Secretariat? There were changes in that winter of 1814-15 evolving themselves, which seemed to afford facilities for such an arrangement as might bring the Delhi Resident to the Vice-regal Court. Mr. Tucker, who had filled long and worthily the office of Financial Secretary, had been promoted to the Chief Secretaryship, and soon afterwards announced his intention of proceeding upon leave to sea, and subsequently, as the event proved, to England. This movement caused a vacancy in the Secretariat which it was necessary to fill. Mr. Dowdeswell, who had been Chief Secretary, had succeeded to the Supreme Council. Mr. Charles Ricketts was now Chief and Private Secretary. Mr. Butterworth Bayley was Judicial Secretary; Mr. Adam was Political Secretary; Mr. Swinton

was Persian Secretary. But the Financial Secretaryship, which Mr. Tucker had held before his promotion, was still vacant. It was proposed, therefore, to Metcalfe, that he should, in the first instance, enter upon this office with the reversion of the Private Secretaryship, on the expected retirement of Mr. Ricketts. The proposal was a perplexing one. All through the spring and summer of 1815 this great personal question continued from time to time to distract his mind. He clung with peculiar fondness to the Delhi Residency; he knew that he was useful there; but it was probable that a larger sphere of usefulness might be opened out to him by his transfer to the Secretariat—and the Secretariat was ever regarded as the high road to the Supreme Council. What his doubts and distractions were in this perplexity, may be gathered from the following letters to Mr. Jenkins, on whom the Governor-General intended to bestow the Delhi Residency if Metcalfe should vacate it:

CHARLES METCALFE TO RICHARD JENKINS.

[Without date—received on the 16th of June, 1815.]

"My dear Jenkins,—After a long and inglorious struggle, we have at length, by superiority of numbers, the protection of artillery, and length of purse, gained considerable successes over the Goorkhas. The whole of the mountainous country between the Sutlej and the Gogra, which it took them thirty years to conquer, has been wrested from their hands and placed at our disposal.* So that although we cannot boast of our

* "Sreenugur and other places within the space mentioned are still in the enemy's hands, but it is expected that they will be evacuated."—C. T. M.

exploits, the enemy cannot exult at the result. There are some symptoms of a disposition on his part to treat for peace on our terms, and I shall be glad if peace be concluded. If not, I hope that we may fight better next campaign. If the enemy's Government had acted as boldly as their troops have fought bravely, we should not have had any success to console ourselves with. It is better as it is. There have been some instances in which our troops have not disgraced themselves. The operations at Almora have been the most creditable of the campaign, and reflect honor on the commander, Colonel Nicolls, and on the troops. Ochterlony, too, has gained great increase of reputation by his prudent judgment and skill.* Some generals have damned themselves. The gallant Gillespie would, I am sure, have carried everything, had he not been basely deserted by a set of cowardly wretches.

"I reflect on the events of the campaign with great pain. If we are to depend on numbers and money for success over our enemies, the prospect is not very encouraging. Livy's description of the Ligurians, which I met with by chance the other day in reading Eustace's Tour in Italy, is admirably applicable to the Goorkhas.

"I hasten to another subject on which I have longed wished to write to you, but have been deterred by the uncertainty with which it is beset.

"[*Confidential.*]—I was in attendance on Lord Moira during a considerable part of December, January, and February. He expressed a desire to have me at the Presidency. As the only visible mode of effecting this purpose, he offered me the succession to the Financial Secretaryship, about to be vacated, it was supposed, by Tucker's resignation. The flattering manner in which the proposal was made, deprived me of the resolution requisite firmly to reject it, and I almost pledged myself to

* "The European officers were never more conspicuous for excellent conduct than in the present campaign. Individual gallantry and devotion have been displayed in the highest degree by young officers. But our troops have failed to show their former confidence."—C. T. M.

accept it. I have, however, many doubts as to the propriety of the change, and am inclined to retract. These doubts I have expressed in the proper quarter, and I think it probable that the arrangement will not take place. I will not detain you with a detail of the *pros* and *cons* which divide my mind on the question, but proceed to inform you that it was in contemplation, when I was at head-quarters, to make you the Resident at Delhi. I do not know how you would like this; and if you would not like it, you must be prepared to object to it in the event of its being proposed to you. If you wish for any information respecting this Residency to determine your choice, send me your questions, and I will give you full and faithful intelligence. My removal, however, is very uncertain, and will probably not take place; for I am more attached to Delhi in consequence of the apprehension of quitting it, than I ever was before. What would you think of my impudence if I were to set up for a Financial Secretary? I should be glad to have your opinion. I do not like to quit the line in which I have served all my life, for one in which I must be incompetent. I am afraid, too, of being detained longer in the country by the proposed change. But I promised not to trouble you with this detail. God bless you.

"Yours affectionately,

"C. T. METCALFE."

THE SAME TO THE SAME.

"August 26, 1816.

"MY DEAR JENKINS,—I have determined to remain at Delhi, and am glad that I have. Lord Moira has on every occasion been most kind to me, and I shall ever be grateful to him. It was proposed to me to take the Financial and Revenue Secretaryship now, with the assurance of the Private Secretaryship in addition on Ricketts's resignation, which the latter pledged himself to give in in December, 1816. Had the latter situation been vacant now, and offered to me together with the other, I could not have refused them. But it is as well as it is.

I have discovered that I am more attached to Delhi and the inhabitants of the territory under me than I formerly supposed myself to be. I found, when my removal was probable, that I should quit with great reluctance scenes to which I had become attached by habit, and a people for whose welfare I had several plans unaccomplished. I am well pleased to find myself secured in my own habits, and at liberty to devote myself to the interest of my subjects. I declined the Financial Secretaryship on the ground that it would retard by return to England; and the promise of the Private Secretaryship, from disinclination to bind down Lord Moira and Ricketts. It is now understood that there is no obligation on Lord Moira's part to renew any similar proposal at a future period, nor on mine to accept it, if renewed. The same reasons which induced me to rejoice now at my staying at Delhi, make me wish that I may not hereafter receive any temptation to quit it. One great advantage which I feel at Delhi is, that I shall always there be independent of a seat in Council; that is, that I shall not care a straw if I do not obtain one. Had I accepted a Secretaryship in Calcutta, I must have turned my views to Council, and should, in all probability, have been disappointed. I took leave of Lord Moira on the 21st at Futtehghur, and am now on my way to Delhi. I have written this short report of my proceedings for your early information. The necessity of any reply to your questions concerning Delhi is obviated by my continuance at that place. I will not, therefore, trouble you with the details which otherwise I should have sent you, unless you require them with a view to any future contingency. Accept my cordial thanks for the friendly and affectionate contents of your last letter. I shall write to you again soon. I have some communications to make respecting the politics of head-quarters. The Goorkha war is still pending; at least, peace is not concluded, nor can we agree on the preliminaries as yet.

"Believe me ever, your most affectionately,

"C. T. METCALFE."

But the idea of attaching Metcalfe permanently to the Secretariat was not abandoned at head-quarters, even after the Governor-General had retired to Calcutta.* As the year wore on to a close, the pressure of public business still suggested the expediency of securing the services of one so well acquainted with all departments, and so peculiarly qualified to assist the councils of Government in those great political affairs connected with the settlement of Central India which were fast beginning to absorb every other consideration. It was difficult to make the necessary arrangement. Mr. Ricketts, on whom it seemed mainly to depend, was well inclined to make considerable sacrifices for its accomplishment, but Lord Moira demurred to the plan which his Private Secretary proposed. What the arrangement was, and the powerful considerations which induced him to make it, may be gathered from the following passage in one of Mr. Ricketts's private letters to Metcalfe:

"At this juncture a second campaign against the Goorkhas was probable—the proposed concession to them was resisted by

* An effort had been made to persuade Metcalfe to return with the Governor-General's Camp to Calcutta. "The 15th of August," wrote the Private Secretary to him, "is still the time fixed for his Lordship's departure, and allowing a day or two for delay, I reckon upon the 20th as the day. This, I trust, will square with your plans, and on many accounts we hope that you will be able to take a run with us to Calcutta. . . . . Your presence there would be useful—indeed, the only *ready* means, perhaps, of enabling you finally to determine about accepting a Secretaryship or remaining at Delhi." There were other inducements, too, to tempt him to the Presidency, for Theophilus Metcalfe had come round to Calcutta about some important business connected with the Factory and the Tea-trade—but the Delhi Resident resisted them all. He proceeded, soon after the receipt of Ricketts's letter, to the camp of the Governor-General at Futtehghur, and after declining the offer of an appointment in the Secretariat, took leave of Lord Moira (as indicated in the above letter to Mr. Jenkins) and returned to Delhi.

Lord Moira—the affair of Trimbackjee was in a most critical state—the disturbance at Hyderabad was not quelled—the Mahratta confederacy was in agitation—the Pindarrees were in motion—Ameer Khan was overwhelming the Rajpoot states—troops were required to overawe Scindiah—Baillie was tottering at Lucknow—Raffles was to be removed from Java—many financial discussions were on the *tapis* both as relating to the war expenses and to resources for the future, which required a final adjustment between the territorial and commercial accounts, subjects on which all good folks differed—that the orders of the Court of Directors respecting a reduction of the army remained yet to be considered—that the reports of his Lordship, in the Military, Revenue, and Judicial Departments were to be completed, and might excite much discussion—that a necessity was imposed upon his Lordship of entering into a full review of our political situation and relations, in which the attack made by his colleagues was to be rebutted, their mistaken notions were to be exposed, and the measures to be produced for our security were to be explained—that most questions of any importance in each department of the Government had been left open for his Lordship's decision—that feuds between the bishop (who is a high priest) and the Kirk remained to be adjusted, and that, in short, so many difficulties and embarrassments presented themselves on every side, that I despaired of his Lordship getting over the whole with any kind of satisfaction to himself without the aid of you, my friend!—Adam was a host certainly in himself; but he was already overwhelmed with business; Bayley could only attend to pending judicial questions; no aid from Trant in finance was to be expected; and I knew that, however well disposed, my talents were very limited, and wholly unequal to the duties with which I was threatened. My plans, consequently, for inducing you to come to Calcutta were as follows:—Mr. Thomson talked of going home in January, and I proposed, therefore, that you should be appointed Territorial Secretary, and that you should divide with me the allowances of Private Secretary on Mr. T.'s departure. This was approved

by his Lordship ; but Mr. T. changed his mind. I then requested that I might be allowed to resign my situation of P. P.* Secretary in your favor. To this, however, his Lordship would not assent ; and, lastly, I was induced from various causes to beg his Lordship to accept my resignation of the situation, now that I had accomplished with your assistance all the reports and papers which he was so anxious to have ready for transmission to the Secret Committee by the *William Pitt.* Lord Moira, I conceived, would not refuse compliance with my wishes, and I, moreover, conceived that he would then feel at liberty to place you in a post which you were so eminently well qualified to fill. His Lordship, however, requested me to withdraw my application. This has been done for the present ; you consequently are not coming to Calcutta, nor am I, which at one time was not improbable, going to Java."†

But the failure of Mr. Ricketts's honorable efforts was not much to be deplored. The time, indeed, was fast approaching when it would be in the power of Charles Metcalfe to render more essential services to the State in Upper India than at the Presidency. The settlement of Central India was about to be commenced, and in this great work the Delhi Resident was to take no unimportant part.

The consideration of this great subject, and the narration of the personal incidents connected with it in the career of Charles Metcalfe, must be reserved for another chapter. But before passing on to these grave political affairs, the writer must pause to touch upon some points of less historical, but, perhaps, not less biographical importance. It is curious, in running through the immense wilderness

* Principal Private Secretary.

† Calcutta, December 19, 1815.

of correspondence which Metcalfe carefully preserved, to see how many and great, at this time, in addition to the claims of public duty, were the demands of private friendship upon his time and attention. The commissions which were entrusted to him were numerous and varied; and he found time to execute them all. It was not only that the kindliness of his heart, his eagerness to give pleasure might always be relied upon; but that there were requests made to him which only he, perhaps, could satisfactorily fulfil—which only he had a power commensurate with the will to accomplish. Thus Mountstuart Elphinstone wrote to him from Poonah, asking him to exert himself to obtain for his friend Mr. Erskine a complete copy of Baber's autobiography, and an authentic portrait of the Emperor.* Malcolm applied to him to obtain information relative to the career of the great Bengal Banker, Omichund, after the

* "Mr. Erskine, at Bombay," wrote Elphinstone, "is employed in translating the commentaries of the Emperor Baber, from a Persian translation of that work, which is certainly the most curious and interesting I ever met with in an Asiatic language. There are, however, several gaps in the translation he has got, and a complete copy in Turkish, which I brought from Peshawur, was lost in consequence of poor Leyden's death, so that Mr. Erskine's translation must remain incomplete unless you can get us a complete copy of the translation at Delhi. The august representative of the house of Timour must assuredly possess the commentaries of the most illustrious of his ancestors, and the founder of his empire. But if his Majesty should not be able to put his hand on the work, some of the literati at Delhi will probably be able to produce it." A copy of the work was found; but, unhappily, it had the same deficiencies as that in Mr. Erskine's possession. Elphinstone, therefore, requested Metcalfe to obtain him a Turkish copy from Peshawur. An authentic portrait of Baber was also required, and Metcalfe, his characteristic good-nature stimulated by his literary zeal, immediately instituted the necessary inquiries, and found what was sought. Mr. Erskine's charming translation of Baber's Commentaries is well known to English readers—to some through the book itself; to others through Jeffrey's review of it, published among his collected Essays. A posthumous work embracing an elaborate history of some of the princes of the house of Timour—a work of great ability and research—has appeared whilst this sheet has been passing through the press.

destroying fraud that had been practised upon him by Lord Clive. Ochterlony* wrote to him to prepare a monument, and to write an inscription to the memory of that poor young Lawtie, of the Engineers, killed by his brave exertions in the Nepaul war, to which so much of our first successes were nobly attributed by his chief. Nicolls† commissioned him to procure an ornamental sabre, to be publicly presented to a native officer who had distinguished himself in the same war. Edmonstone, in consequence of a reference from England, besought him to obtain information relative to the matrimonial connexions formed between the Mogul princes and the daughters of the Rajpoot Rajahs.‡ Sir William

* "In every letter," wrote Ochterlony, "written to you, I have intended to make a very particular request, which I have ever neglected or forgotten before the conclusion. It is that you will get a slab of marble, and on it cut an inscription of your own composition for the tomb of our lamented Lawtie, at Ruttunghur. Few will read it; but I do not wish an European visitor to pass without knowing that the spot contains the remains of one so deservedly valued and lamented."

† The late Sir Jasper Nicolls, who wrote: "My object in troubling you now is to beg that you will purchase and transmit to me, *viâ* Moradabad, a sabre, not exceeding in value 400 rupees, which I have obtained Lord Moira's consent to give to a Jemadar of the 4th N. I., who conducted himself with great intrepidity on the 25th ultimo. The blade, if possible, should be good, but it ought to be ornamental also; it should please the eye long after the *éclat* of the action has worn off. I shall present it on the theatre of his valor, and in public."

‡ Metcalfe's answer to this application is worth more than the space that it will take: "I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 9th a few minutes before a visit from the Joudpore Wakeel, a most respectable and well-informed old man, and I availed myself of the opportunity to apply to him for a solution of the question referred to you from England. He says that it was first proposed to the Rajpoot Rajahs to form a connexion with the imperial family by taking in marriage imperial princesses; but that this proposal was rejected, as such a communication would have polluted the blood of the Rajahs' families, and would have been utter abomination for ever; that they were glad to effect their escape from so alarming a danger by sacrificing their own daughters, who were considered as dead from the time of their connexion with the emperors; that after the ice had been once broken by the formation of a connexion of this kind, it came to be considered a custom, and ceased to be objectionable. That a connexion with the emperors was thought desirable for political purposes, and that the rivalship of the Rajahs of Jyepore and Joudpore made both occasionally press forward with their daughters,

Rumbold besought him to despatch a wet-nurse to Cawnpore—John Adam commissioned him to buy for Lady Hood some of the finest garnets to be found in Delhi. Mr. Richardson wrote to him "at the girls' desire" for "three Solimanee necklaces, bracelets, &c., and also three lapis-lazuli necklaces, bracelets, &c., and any other little trinkets, or Hindostanee ornaments, or costume that you think they would like." Added to applications of this varied and interesting character was a never-failing succession of requests for pecuniary assistance, for the most part from military officers, to whom he made advances, with or without any kind of security, often knowing that the loan would prove, as he intended it to be, a gift to the petitioner.

But there were letters, very different from any of these, received during the years of his residence at Delhi—letters which inflicted upon him an acuteness of pain which may, in some measure perhaps, be duly estimated by those who have dwelt upon the passages relating to his parents in the letters which he addressed to his aunt. In the course of the year 1814 he received intelligence of the death of his father. And two years afterwards the sad tidings of his mother's death also reached him.* This is

each being jealous when such a connexion was formed by the other. Nevertheless that the daughters were considered as dead and gone, though their posthumous influence was an object of desire to their fathers. This is the mode in which the Joudpore Wakeel attempts to solve the question. I shall make further inquiries, and have the happiness of making you acquainted with the result."—[*May* 25, 1814.]

* Intelligence of Lady Metcalfe's death was received in India in March, 1816. Both events were unexpected—especially the latter. Lady Metcalfe died on the 9th of September, 1815, at the house of some friends in Dorsetshire to whom she was paying a visit. She had just been talking to her son-in-law, Lord Ashbrook, about returning home, when she suddenly expired, "without uttering a word or a sigh." Mr. George Saunders com-

almost a condition of Indian exile. It is a grievous trial which few escape — to lay up fame and fortune and to see those, with whom we would share their blessings, pass away from our reach. How deeply Metcalfe felt these heavy blows may be gathered from his letters to his friends. "The loss of my mother," he wrote to Richard Jenkins, in May, 1816, "has made all my prospects dismal: and I cannot now look even to a return to England with any pleasure. The purest happiness that I have enjoyed in life is buried in the grave with both my parents; and I have really, at present, no object to live for. The thought of returning to my parents was my stimulus in everything. This affliction has also affected my correspondence of all kinds. But enough of this. You will, I am sure, excuse me, and believe that nothing can alter my attachment or the delight and pride I feel in the possession of your friendship." Indeed, it seemed, as one by one the links which bound him to England were broken, the firmness with which he clung to his Indian attachments increased. From this time he fell back for support upon the associations of exile, and solaced himself with the friendships within his reach.

It was with little regret, therefore, that about this time he received an intimation that the Court of Directors, among other retrenchments, had reduced the expenses of the Delhi Residency,* by curtailing

municated the melancholy intelligence to Captain Fergusson, at Delhi, whom he requested to prepare Metcalfe for the receipt of the sad tidings.

* The expenses of all the Residencies had been reduced; but whilst other retrenchments were ordered to take immediate effect, the case of the Delhi Residency had been treated as an exceptional one, and Metcalfe had

the Resident's allowances. "The cuttings here," he wrote to Mr. Jenkins, "are 2000 rupees a month from the public allowance. This I have allowed to take effect, as I considered opposition vain. Reductions were also ordered in the number of assistants and the office establishment. These I have opposed, as they do not affect me personally. The reduction of my allowances will keep me in India all my life, as I do not see how I can reduce my expenses." But, as though he could not altogether abandon the thought of some day returning to his native land, he added, "I shall, therefore, be the more inclined to accept any situation, should any such be offered, which, by enabling me to live like a retired individual on some small means, may present a hope of some day returning to England."

At the close of the year 1815 Charles Metcalfe received another visit from his brother Theophilus, who had come round to Calcutta, upon business connected with the financial affairs of the Canton Factory. The visit was a solace to both brothers. "I look forward," wrote the elder brother from Benares, "to a delightful month with you, such as I have not passed for some time; and alas! have but little prospect of seeing a relative for years to come." They met then at Delhi for the last time. Theophilus Metcalfe did not live to see the completion of those twelve years.

been ordered, as a preliminary measure, to report upon the expenses of his office before any reductions were carried out.

CHAPTER XII.

[1815—1818.]

THE SETTLEMENT OF CENTRAL INDIA.

Peace with the Goorkhas—Relations with the States of Central India—Scindiah, Holkar, and the Rajah of Berar—The Pindarrees—Ameer Khan and the Patans—The Rajpoot States—Metcalfe's Plans for the Settlement of Central India—Adopted by Lord Hastings—Opposition of the Home Authorities — Change of Policy — Correspondence of Metcalfe with Lord Moira—The Governor-General takes the Field—Suppression of the Pindarrees—Metcalfe's Treaties with the Rajpoot Princes.

"HURRAH! peace with the Goorkhas!" wrote Secretary Ricketts from Calcutta to Metcalfe, at Delhi, on the 9th of December, 1815. "Gujraz returned at the time stipulated to Bradshaw's camp, and with full powers from his Rajah to sign the treaty according to the terms required by Lord Moira, which you may recollect to have seen. . . . . This treaty has just been ratified by his Lordship in Council; and a counterpart from the Rajah may be expected in ten days—a copy having been sent to him with the signatures of Bradshaw and Gujraz at the time they forwarded the one for his Lordship's gratification." It was expected; but it never came. The expectations formed in this month of December by the inmates of the Government House of Cal-

cutta, like all other expectations based upon the assumed sincerity of a faithless enemy, resulted only in delusion and disappointment. The treaty of Segowlee was not ratified at Catamandu. So hostilities were renewed by the British. They were renewed, under the conduct of Ochterlony, with consummate vigor and ability; and the Goorkhas were soon again at his feet. Defeated and dispirited, they sued for terms; and the general, not without some misgivings,* consented, early in March, to renew negotiations on the basis of the old treaty. Before the end of the month many letters had been despatched from the enemy's country congratulating Metcalfe on the termination of the war. "I offer you my most sincere congratulations," wrote Colonel Jasper Nicolls, who had well performed all the duties entrusted to him in both campaigns, "on the very rapid and glorious success of our arms. Far more has been done than I expected in so short a time. The affair of the 28th ultimo, the capture of Hurreehurpore, and the energetic arrangements for the reduction of Murkwanpore, have been of a character not to be misunderstood by Umr Singh himself, whom shame and disgrace will, I hope, follow in due time. That the treaty has been drawn from them by their fears must now be evident to India, and have its just effect."† "The Goorkhas," wrote Mr. Gardner,

* "I am in a terrible fright," he wrote to Metcalfe, "lest Lord Moira should be angry; but new negotiations, with the necessary cessation of hostility, were in my mind worse than the acceptance of the old, ready cut and dry." This letter is dated in the original "Valley of Murkwanpore, *February* 7, 1816." But this is obviously a slip of the pen for March.

† *Sulapore, March* 17, 1816. *MS. Correspondence.*

Metcalfe's old assistant, who was soon afterwards appointed Resident at the Nepaul Court, "have ratified the old treaty of Segowlee; and as Ochterlony must no doubt have been authorised to accept it, as sufficient to satisfy Government, by his having at the same time agreed to a cessation of hostilities, I conclude the war may be considered as terminated. . . . I think we have been highly fortunate, both in the successes which have attended Ochterlony's exertions and the speedy termination that has been put to the campaign, for had it been continued, considering the time of year, I think that we should have been ruined by the climate."* But satisfactory as were these announcements, far more satisfactory and cheering, on every account, was the letter which Metcalfe received from the brave old general himself. "I was most happily relieved from all anxiety," wrote Ochterlony from Camp Beteeah, on the 20th of March, "by a very kind letter from Lord Moira, who I doubt not will be more pleased when he receives all the particulars detailed in my despatch transmitting the ratified treaty by Cartwright. I granted peace on the most submissive entreaty—on the most abject submission, I may say; and as they had before talked of some hope of changes, I took from the negotiators a document expressly stating that every hope was retracted, and that the most rigid adherence to the very letter of the treaty was the only indulgence they could expect from a Government they had treated so ill." And thus the

* *Rumghur, March* 17, 1817. *MS. Correspondence.*

war was really at an end; and Nepaul became a friendly power.

To Metcalfe this intelligence was most welcome. A great object had now been accomplished. But there was a greater before us to which the pacification of Nepaul had in some measure cleared the way. One obstacle at least to the settlement of Central India had been removed. It had been always Metcalfe's opinion that our operations against the Goorkhas should have been postponed until arrangements had been effected for the establishment of permanent tranquillity throughout all the Central Indian States; but the war having been commenced, he argued that we should conclude it, by a manifestation of overwhelming strength, with the utmost practicable despatch; and then, having in the mean while increased, by every possible means, our military resources, enter with confidence upon the arrangements which the unsettled condition of Central India so imperatively demanded.

Whatever may have been the policy—or the necessity—in 1806, of the sudden winding-up of our political relations in the interior of Hindostan, it is not to be doubted that the precipitate adjustment of affairs, rendered necessary by the embarrassed state of our finances, caused a vast heritage of stirring work to descend to a future Government. It is very true that no statesman is justified in saddling posterity with political convulsions and pecuniary distresses. But it is equally true that no statesman is justified in inflicting a positive injury upon his own generation, with the hope of averting a conjectural

evil from a future one. But the truest statesmanship is that which seizes upon the exact point at which conjectural evils are about to become positive ones, when they have passed altogether beyond the stage of possible prevention, and to delay their extinction is only to nurture their growth. Now, in 1815-16, we had certainly reached an epoch of our career at which any continued reliance upon the efficacy of those principles of non-interference, which had so long regulated our political conduct in the East, would have been suicidal in the extreme. Disorder and confusion were paramount over the whole length and breadth of Central India. The entire country was rent by internal strife. The strong were preying upon the weak. The supremacy of Might was alone recognised. There was altogether a state of lawlessness and disorganisation such as it is difficult for those, who square their notions by the rule and plummet of European civilisation, adequately to conceive.

To describe, with satisfactory detail, the chaotic state of things that had arisen during the ten years which had elapsed since Charles Metcalfe, on the banks of the Becas, met Holkar and Ameer Khan in the camp of the former,* would demand an amount of space that cannot consistently be afforded to it in such a Memoir as this. But I will endeavor in some sort, whilst illustrating the political opinions of the Delhi Resident, and tracing the incidents of his political career, to render it intelligible to the reader, who has made himself acquainted with the

* See *ante*, pp. 196-7-8.

leading circumstances of the first wars with the Mahrattas.

The names or titles of the principal Mahratta chieftains—of Scindiah, of Holkar, of the Peishwah, and the Rajah of Berar, are, it may be presumed, familiar to the reader. The great political and military transactions in which our relations with these powers involved us during the first years of the century, have been already briefly narrated. The alliances which the British Government had formed with these Princes, had been nominally maintained; but the spirit of them had been frequently violated, and there was good reason to believe that at every one of these Mahratta Durbars there was a smouldering hostility which was only waiting for a breath of opportunity to burst out openly into a blaze.

Since the conclusion of the last treaties with the Mahratta Princes, some great personal changes had been wrought under the unfailing action of Time. Scindiah, who at the period of our early negotiations with him was a mere stripling in the trammels of an unprincipled Minister, had now assumed an attitude of independence. He was master of his own actions and his own possessions. He had been quietly organising his army and consolidating his power;* and although whilst the British Govern-

* "Scindiah, though his former vast power was completely broken by the last war, and though his own camp frequently presents a scene of disorder and a spectacle of weakness in the government, which would be destructive to a more regular state, has nevertheless, since the termination of the war, been gradually increasing his power by the subjugation of petty states, by the constant employment of his infantry in operations tending

ment punctually paid him his stipend, and abstained from molesting or controlling him, his disposition was outwardly friendly, it was felt that any suspicion of our designs might soon induce him to employ his resources against his British allies. At Holkar's Court a change, too, had supervened equally striking, but of an obverse character. Our old enemy Jeswunt Rao, under the depressing influences of adversity and inaction, had drunk himself first into idiotcy and then into the grave. His son, a minor, now ruled in his place. But the Holkar family were little more than a pageant.* All the real power of the state had been for some time usurped by their old lieutenant, Ameer Khan, the Rohilla, and by another predatory chief of the same adventurous type,† who lived by spoliation and oppression. Whilst these changes were being developed—whilst Scindiah was rising into a reality and Holkar sinking into a name, the Peishwah, by name Badjee Rao, had been recovering from the effect of the troubles which had beset him during the first years of the century, and acquiring with maturity of years some vigor of understanding.‡ His chief public functionary had

to his aggrandisement, and by the accumulation of treasure, in which he has uniformly persisted, though he has had frequently to defend his person against a clamorous and tumultuous army."—[*Memorandum by C. T. Metcalfe, written for Lord Moira in the winter of* 1814-15.]

* "The state of Holkar is in a very different predicament at present. The Government is reduced to a very low degree of weakness. If we exclude the armies of Meer Khan and Mahomed Shah Khan, which act so independently that they can hardly be reckoned as forces of the state, the armies of Holkar are completely insignificant. . . . . The present policy of the Holkar Government appears to be, to keep the crumbling state together, if possible, until the young Rajah be able to hold the reins himself, in the hope, perhaps, that he may be able to restore its prosperity."—[*Ibid.*]

† Mahomed Shah Khan.

‡ In 1816 he was about forty years of age.

been a fiddler in the band of a Hindoo temple; but the Peishwah relied little on his Ministers, and was especially intent on keeping in his own hands all state affairs connected with the British alliance. He knew the importance of appearing to be a faithful ally. He kept up a show of friendship towards us. But it was believed that he was only biding his time, and that he was eager to throw off the subsidiary force, which sate like an incubus upon him. With the Rajah of Berar, now greatly shorn of his old prestige and his old power by the events of the war of 1803, we had attempted to establish a similar subsidiary alliance. But our offer had been rejected. Eager as was that Prince for the assistance and protection of the British Government when threatened by the predatory cohorts of Ameer Khan, he dreaded the effects of a closer alliance with us; he was continually suspecting us of a design to strip him of his independence. It was the old story—a weak Prince hurried by his own idle fears into the very dangers which he struggled to escape. When Lord Moira visited the Upper Provinces in 1814, and was collecting an army for the chastisement of the Goorkhas, the Rajah believed that our object was the subjugation of Nagpore; and when he found that our troops were entangled in the difficult defiles of Nepaul, he seriously meditated the expediency of taking the initiative against us. Similar apprehensions, indeed, at this time haunted all the Mahratta durbars. We could hardly move without disquieting them; for in every movement they saw a menace.

With these states, so suspicious and susceptible,

there was little probability of our continuing much longer on terms of satisfactory alliance. But there was another power, less palpable but more formidable, with which it seemed likely at this time that we should be brought into earlier collision—a power which for years had been extending and aggrandising itself—the power of the Pindarrees. These were predatory bands of soldiers or freebooters, forming the military strength of no particular state, but ready to take service under any state, or to carry on war upon their own account, whenever sufficient temptation presented itself in the shape of the weakness or the disorganisation of some petty principality not under the protection of the paramount power. During our early wars with the Mahrattas we had seen something of these mercenaries; but they were then comparatively few in number, and were accounted only as component parts of the military resources of Scindiah or Holkar. They were not regarded by us in the light of an infant power likely to exercise a formidable influence over the destinies of Hindostan. But under the sure operation of time, this noxious growth of lawlessness and violence had quickened into a mighty power overawing states. No enterprise seemed to be too vast for the ambition of men who carried, for the most part, all that they possessed on the bows of their saddle; who had everything to gain by the disorganisation they created; with whom rapine was a trade, and cruelty a pastime. Plunder was the first object of their incursions. They devastated wide tracts of country; committed the most detestable

atrocities on the defenceless inhabitants; carried off all that they could; destroyed what they left behind; and returned to augment their resources by raising new levies with the proceeds of the plunder they had seized on their last expedition.

But although these Pindarrees were to be primarily regarded as great depredational leagues, with migratory camps, and systems of desultory military government, rather than a substantive power with any settled home or fixed administration, they had gradually been acquiring some territorial importance of their own. It was not only that from time to time certain assignments of land had been made to them by the Mahratta Princes in reward for their services in the field, but that they had usurped considerable tracts of country, and they had erected forts, in which their families were located, and their property was secured. It was hard to say what might issue from this beginning. It was hard to say what the Pindarree power, under the influence of time and long-continued success, might not be able to accomplish. But whatever might be the result of their successes—whether or not their military supremacy were likely to have any abiding effect upon the old dynasties of Central India—it was very certain that so long as these hordes of reckless banditti were suffered to overawe all its principalities, and to ravage all its provinces, a state of anarchy and disorganisation fatal to tranquillity and peace, hostile to every interest of humanity, must be the chronic condition of the country.

And there were other predatory bands than these

recognised Pindarrees—others of the same general character, but differing in some important features. The immense bodies of mercenary troops under the command of Ameer Khan and Mahomed Shah Khan were at once the support and the burden of Holkar's Government. Dependent in name, but independent in reality, the former chief had long been aggrandising himself at the expense of his master; and by continual successes in the field and an uninterrupted career of rapine, erecting himself and his Patan levies into a great military power. There was something more substantive in his strength, more systematic in his policy, than was discernible in the attributes of the Pindarree force. Pindarreeism, indeed, in the person of Ameer Khan and his brother chief, put on its most respectable apparel. It aimed at larger objects.* It was more political and less desultory; and it was more tangible. We might treat with Ameer Khan—we could only destroy the Pindarrees.

Ameer Khan was something more than a common robber. His ambition was not bounded by the plunder of a village and the torture of its inhabitants—by the acquisition of so many bags of grain and so many silver ornaments stripped from the

* Mr. Prinsep, in his excellent history of the "Political and Military Transactions in India during the Administration of Lord Hastings," which no one can write of this period without consulting to advantage, says: "The grand difference between the two classes was, that the Patans were banded together for the purpose of preying on governments and powerful chiefs; to this end their force moved about with the materials of regular battles and sieges, so as to work on the fears of princes and men in power, extorting contributions and other advantages from them by such intimidation as an efficient army only could impress. The object of the Pindarrees, on the contrary, was general rapine; they preyed upon the population at large, without arrogating an ability to cope with the governments; their form and constitution, therefore, were framed with a view to this exclusive purpose."

persons of violated women. He moved out with a well-organised and well-equipped army, and struck boldly at principalities. He was the terror of the Rajpoot states. Weak, helpless, distracted, misgoverned as they were, he found among them constant occupation for his predatory cohorts. All this group of little independent kingdoms was lying prostrate, indeed, at the feet of the great marauding Rohilla. They would not assist each other, and they were not strong enough to resist by themselves. We could not take them under our protection. With many of them, our old treaties with Scindiah and Holkar restrained us from forming connexions. To Jyepore we *were* free to extend our good offices. Harassed and distressed by the predatory incursions of the Patan bands, gasping, indeed, for its very existence, this state had long been eager to place itself under the protection of the British Government. The alliance had often been contemplated, often recommended, by the diplomatists of Central India. But the Home authorities at this time were equally averse to the conclusion of new treaties and the modification of old ones; and so Jyepore and the other Rajpoot states remained weak and defenceless in a season of present convulsion and threatened revolution, whilst Ameer Khan was preying upon the very sources of their existence, and flourishing upon their decay.

Such was the condition of things which Lord Moira, soon after his arrival in India, had been called upon seriously to contemplate—such was the condition of things that, on his first visit to the Upper

Provinces, he had earnestly discussed with Charles Metcalfe in the Vice-regal Camp. It was a condition of things that no wise or benevolent statesman could long suffer to exist. Not only did the security of our Indian Empire, but the larger interests of common humanity, demand that an effort should be made by the paramount power to restore tranquillity to the distracted country. The duty of the British Government in this conjuncture stood out clearly before Metcalfe's eyes. It was with no misgiving—with no hesitation that he fully declared his opinions to the Governor-General; and propounded a scheme for the settlement of Central India, which Lord Moira was not slow to adopt. The length of the document in which his views were submitted forbids its entire insertion; but its importance demands that I should set forth some of its more pregnant passages.

And the better to follow his arguments, it should first be seen in what manner he classified the different states of Central India:

"That part of India which is not occupied by the British Government and its allies, is divided among powers who may be classed under the following different descriptions:

"1. Substantive states, ardently desiring our overthrow, and ambitious to aggrandise themselves; who for the gratification of either propensity, would not scruple to have recourse to any measures, and who have armies in their service capable of being converted at a moment's warning into instruments of destruction to our provinces. Against these powers we must always be on our guard; and the frontiers exposed to them can never be considered to be in safety unless defended by our

armies. We may be assured that these powers only want an encouraging opportunity to strike a blow at our existence.

" 2. Military powers not substantive states, but more dangerous, perhaps, than these states; being less tangible and having less to lose, living by plunder and devastation—the enemies of all regular governments, more especially hostile in spirit to us, and capable of overrunning and ruining our provinces if we gave them the opportunity, by neglecting our defence. Against these, therefore, we must be equally guarded as against the states of the first class.

" 3. Petty states, who are subject to the continual plunder and oppression of the two former classes, who in consequence look up to us for protection, and are, therefore, well-disposed towards us. From these we have nothing to apprehend. These it is our interest to uphold and protect.

" To the *first* class belong Scindiah, Holkar, and the Rajah of Nagpore (Berar).

" Of these three, Scindiah is the most powerful, and the one most employed in aggrandising himself.

" The power of Holkar, if considered as unconnected with that of Meer Khan, is very much reduced. That of Nagpore seems to be, too, on the decline. But all three are hostile towards us, and in heart confederated against us; and never will be otherwise until they be forced by the oppression of each other, or of other powers, to throw themselves into our arms for protection.

" The *second* class of powers consists of the Pindarrees, Meer Khan, Mahomed Shah Khan, and generally all predatory leaders. Of these the Pindarrees are the most mischievous. Meer Khan and Mahomed Shah Khan may be considered in a double character, as servants of Holkar and as independent chieftains. These powers, and all others that exist by upsetting peaceful states and disturbing the general tranquillity, must be considered as enemies, since they either act as such or force us to take the same defensive precautions against them as if they were in declared hostility.

"In the *third* class may be included Jyepore, Joudpore, Oudipore, Bekaneer, Jessulmere, Kotah, Boondee, Kerowlee, and the other petty states on the frontier of Guzerat, and, generally, all states who are subject to the oppression of the military and predatory powers."

Having thus shown with what we had to deal, he proceeded in a few pithy sentences to declare how it was desirable to deal with them:

"With regard to all the great military states and all the predatory powers, it is clearly our interest to annihilate them or to reduce them to a state of weakness, subjection, and dependence. This observation refers to all the powers of the first and second classes above described. And with regard to the weak and harmless and well-disposed petty states, though it is not so indispensably necessary for our vital interests that we should support them, yet it is a just and proper object of wise and liberal policy."

It was Metcalfe's opinion at this time that the annihilation of all the substantive States of Central India would be advantageous to the British Government, and he was not without a belief that circumstances would arise to justify such a measure. But he was not yet prepared to recommend it. They had been guilty of no overt acts of hostility; and we had no pretext for drawing the sword against them. But the forcible suppression of the Pindarrees was, on the other hand, a measure that called for immediate execution. Forbearance and moderation in such a case would only have been sinful and cruel. The reduction of these lawless bands was, indeed,

the first object of our policy. Nothing could be done until it was accomplished:

"The first object," said Metcalfe, "to which our attention ought to be directed, is the reduction of the power of the Pindarrees. Not only does this predatory power at all times menace the tranquillity of our territories, and force us to adopt extensive measures of precautionary defence, but has actually invaded our dominions and ravaged our richest provinces, and perpetually threatens a repetition of this outrage and devastation. It is impossible to distinguish between the different bodies of these freebooters. The whole of them are the enemies of all states, and they have all been engaged in ravaging either our own provinces, or those of our allies. As long as this power exists, we cannot undertake any political or military operations without the apprehension of having our provinces laid waste by bands of plunderers. And from the increase of the power of these freebooters which has actually taken place in the last few years, we may judge to what an incalculable extent the evil may proceed if it be allowed to continue to exist. We ought to recollect that the Pindarree is now what the Mahratta power was in the decline of the Mogul Empire of India. Let us take warning, and save the British Empire from the downfall which its predecessor sustained, chiefly from the hands of the predecessors of the Pindarrees."

Speaking then of the difficulty of striking a vigorous blow at a power so meteoric and untangible, Metcalfe then proceeded to say:

"As the destruction of the power of the Pindarrees is the first object of our policy, so it is also, perhaps, the most difficult to be accomplished. The seat of their power is in their camps. It is less tangible than the power of any established state, which must fall with the loss of its dominions. The

Pindarrees may be dispersed, and they will gather again. They may be defeated over and over again without loss of reputation or power, since neither the one nor the other depends on victory in the field. They must be pursued wherever they take refuge; they must be dispersed wherever they assemble. We must not pause until they be annihilated as a power. Even the Pindarree power is in some degree tangible. The Pindarrees have lands and forts, where they keep their families; and the loss of their possessions and the capture of their families would tend greatly, no doubt, to destroy their power."

After speaking of the offensive and defensive preparations which it would be necessary to make for the suppression of these predatory bands, and dwelling upon the advantages to be derived from the success of our measures, Metcalfe proceeded to speculate on the probability of deriving assistance from other substantive States of Central India:

"Every endeavor," he said, "will be advisable to persuade other powers to take part in the contest. Scindiah, Holkar, and the Rajah of Berar, may be invited at the proper time to join a confederacy for the destruction of the Pindarrees. If they accede, and join with cordiality, the object may be gained with greater facility; and the circumstance of acting in union with the British Government for one common interest might lay the foundation of a general confederacy of the established states of India with the British Government as the acknowledged head. But this is an arrangement, perhaps, more to be desired than expected."

If this confederacy were not arranged, it was argued that the British Government could at least demand the neutrality of the states, with the right

of a free passage through their territories; and if this were refused, they could only be treated as open enemies:

"If Scindiah, Holkar, and the Rajah of Berar," continued Metcalfe, "neither co-operate nor remain neutral—in other words, if all or any of these powers oppose or obstruct our operations against the Pindarrees, we have no choice but to consider all powers so opposing us as our enemies, and to attack them accordingly. The war in this case would require greater exertions, but would also be attended with better prospects of solid advantage. The territories of Scindiah, Holkar, or the Rajah of Berar, would afford a recompense for the expenses of the war, and an increase of resources for the payment of additional force."

Having again repeated that the absolute extermination of the Pindarrees by a series of vigorous offensive measures was the first step towards the settlement of Central India, Metcalfe proceeded to consider what should be our bearing towards the military States, as a question distinct from that of their movements for or against the Pindarrees:

"Let us now examine what should be our policy towards Scindiah, Holkar, and the Rajah of Berar, without any reference to the Pindarrees. As long as these powers adhere to the spirit of the treaties which we have with them respectively, and act towards us in a friendly and inoffensive manner, we have no right, it is needless to mention, to deviate from the spirit of existing engagements, however desirable a deviation may occasionally be. We must act towards them with friendship and a liberal regard for their rights and pretensions. But we ought never to forget, that as long as these, or any of these powers are military, ambitious, and unprincipled, it is our in-

terest to overthrow them, or bring them under our influence; and every opportunity should be taken to pursue a policy tending to one of these results when it can be done consistently with good faith and justice. In the event of a war with all or any of these powers, it is our interest to secure the greatest possible acquisition of territory, in order that we may maintain the greatest possible amount of force."

In these suggestions, Metcalfe contended that there was no spirit of aggrandisement; the only object being to secure the safety of our possessions and the general tranquillity of the country:

"In these proposals there is no ambition or wish for aggrandisement beyond what is necessary or desirable for our safety and strength. If the British Government were secure in their present predicament, it might confine its attention to its own internal prosperity, without involving itself in the dissensions and distractions of other states. But we must tranquillise the centre of India, in order to acquire strength in our external boundaries sufficient for the security of our Indian Empire."

Having considered the course of policy to be pursued towards the substantive States of India and the Pindarree freebooters, Metcalfe adverted to those powers which occupied intermediate ground between them—which partook of some of the substantive attributes of the one, and were distinguished also by the predatory habits of the other:

"The military powers of Ameer Khan and Mahomed Shah Khan remain to be spoken of. The existence of such powers is incompatible with the preservation of the tranquillity of India, and they must be destroyed by dispersion or attack before that great object can be secured. Such armies might be dispersed

by making a provision for the chiefs and afterwards disbanding their troops; but unless measures be taken at the same time to prevent the rise of other powers of the same description, new armies will rise up under new leaders, and we shall have the expense of supporting the old chiefs without doing away the evil. But the destruction of the Pindarrees and the other arrangements proposed, will necessarily effect the reduction of the remaining predatory powers."

Having thus considered the policy to be pursued towards hostile states, he glanced at the condition of those friendly principalities which it was desirable to take under our protection:

"These" he said, "should be systematically taken under protection whenever they seek it, and whenever our engagements with other powers leave us at liberty to grant it, and other considerations of an urgent nature do not interfere to prevent such an arrangement. By taking the petty states under our protection, we prevent the aggrandisement of the great military powers, and the growth of the predatory powers which feed on the weaker states. We at the same time secure the political attachment and dependence of established governments and the extension and confirmation of our own power and supremacy. . . . . These states should be made to purchase our protection, and whenever the circumstances of the party will admit of it, a tribute should be demanded sufficient to pay for some increase of our military establishment, an object which should never be lost sight of in any of our political arrangements in the present state of India."

It was true that our engagements with Scindiah and Holkar prevented us from forming alliances with some of these petty states,* but it was recom-

* Joudpore, Oudipore, Kotah, &c.

mended that we should take advantage of any rupture that might free us from these engagements; and such a contingency seemed not very remote.

Special mention was then made of Jyepore:

"The state of Jyepore has long sought our protection, and we are not restrained by any engagements with other powers from affording it. An alliance, however, with Jyepore would necessarily annoy Scindiah and Holkar, and would deprive Meer Khan, Mahomed Shah Khan, and other freebooters of their chief resource. The state of Jyepore could afford to pay a considerable tribute, especially when tranquillity and protection shall have restored the prosperity of the country. An alliance with Jyepore has been objected to as an insulated measure, under the belief of its inefficiency. Although an alliance with Jyepore be effected singly—and a general alliance with the Rajpoot states is impracticable consistently with good faith—nevertheless the alliance should not be considered an insulated measure, but one of a system which can only be accomplished by degrees. We must not expect that a number of states will come forward to seek our alliance exactly at the moment most convenient to our views. If we do not afford our protection when it is solicited, we must expect that it may be rejected when we proffer it. If we refuse now to conclude an alliance with Jyepore, it may happen that Jyepore will be reluctant to conclude one at the precise period when we deem it advantageous for ourselves.* If we adopt the system of protecting the weak states, we must put it in practice gradually, by taking under our protection such of them as are aware of the benefit of it, and we must make some temporary sacrifice for the sake of the advancement of the system."

The result of these alliances, Metcalfe argued, would

* In how remarkable a manner these anticipations were verified by the result will presently appear.

be great, for they would place us, either by the generation of an immediate crisis, or by sowing the seeds of slow decay among the Mahratta states, in possession of the whole expanse of Central India:

"The formation, as suggested, of these alliances would confine the military and predatory powers of India within narrow limits. They must then either devour each other or waste away, or attack us. In the latter event we ought to have made ourselves strong enough to conquer them all and annex the whole of these territories to the British dominions. In that case, by one great exertion, the tranquillity of India might be established on a permanent footing, and our supremacy would be complete. In either of the other cases the same end will eventually be gained in a more progressive manner."

Such was the plan for the settlement of Central India which Metcalfe presented to the Governor-General. But how was so comprehensive a scheme of policy to be carried out? It was anticipated that our measures for the suppression of the Pindarrees would very probably embroil us with all the Mahratta states; but, so far from shrinking back alarmed at the contemplation of such a contingency, Metcalfe regarded it as an element of extreme hopefulness in the great scheme which opened out before him. He felt, indeed, that it was absolutely necessary for the permanent tranquillisation of Central India, not only that the Pindarrees should be rooted out, but that the substantive States should be curtailed of their power, and reduced to a condition of subjection that would prevent them from ever again exciting our fears. The war with the Pindarrees might be fol-

lowed by a war with the Mahrattas. It was incumbent upon us, said Metcalfe, to be provided for this. But how were we to undertake the prosecution of a scheme of policy demanding a display of such immense resources? To this it was replied, that everything must give way to one paramount consideration —that the maintenance of an efficient military establishment must be the first care of the Government, and that to accomplish this we must increase our revenue by every possible means:

"The following," said Metcalfe, "would appear to be the system which we ought to adopt for the security and confirmation of our dominion in India:

"1st. To make it the main object of all the acts of our Government to have the most efficient army that we can possibly maintain, not merely for internal control or the defence of our frontier, but also for those services in the field which our army is perpetually called on to perform on emergencies when we have not time to increase it to sufficient strength.

"2nd. If our resources should, at any time, be unequal to the maintenance of an ample force, not to cripple our strength by attempts to reduce our force within the limits of fixed resources at the imminent peril of our dominion; but to endeavor to raise our resources to meet the demands on us for force.*

"3rd. To enlarge our territories in the interior of India on every occasion of war as much as possible consistently with

* Elsewhere the writer says: "If an increase in the existing branches of revenue in our own dominions prove sufficient for the maintenance of such armies as we require, so much the better. If not, we ought to draw forth new resources; and if these be impracticable within our own dominions, we must look to increase of territory by conquest over our enemies in the interior of India. There is no doubt that opportunities will arise for effecting such conquests, for with the utmost moderation and justice upon our part, misunderstandings and wars in the course of time will be occasionally unavoidable."

justice and policy, moderation to our enemies, and due attention to our allies.

"4th. To apply the net revenues of conquered countries to the maintenance of additional force, and the acquisition of additional force to the achievement of new conquests, on just occasions—thus growing in size and increasing in strength as we proceed, until we can with safety determine to confine ourselves within fixed limits, and abjure all further conquests.

"5th. To enter on no wars from views of aggrandisement without just cause. To respect with the most liberal attention the rights, interests, feelings, and prejudices of all powers; and to cultivate with those who are willing the most sincere and cordial friendship."

These propositions Charles Metcalfe supported in a manner which, doubtless, would have thrown his old friend and correspondent, Sherer the Financier, into a state of considerable alarm—especially if it had been imparted to him with what favor the Delhi Resident's arguments were received in the tent of the Governor-General. But it must ever be considered that we were on the eve of a great crisis, which, in the estimation of some of the ablest statesmen in India, demanded a departure from ordinary rules of procedure. Let us settle the country first, cried Metcalfe; and then practice economy:

"The error," he said, "seems to belong to the Government at home, which has been resolved to make everything bend to a desire to keep down the expenses—as if our expenses could be regulated at our pleasure; as if we could control events so as to render them subservient exclusively to economical and commercial views! The most effectual remedy would be—and a most necessary one it is—to reverse the system of Government, and to make views of economy and retrenchment

secondary to those of safety and power. Let us first adopt measures for the security and strength of our dominion, and afterwards look to a surplus of revenue. If retrenchments be necessary, let them be made anywhere rather than in that branch of our expenditure which is necessary for our existence. Let us cherish our military establishments above all others, for on them our power entirely depends."

To this, of course, the Financier would reply, that it is impossible to cherish our military establishments without money—that money has been emphatically called the sinews of war—and that without money, though we may talk of war, we cannot make it. To this, however, Metcalfe replied:

"It is in vain to say that our commercial and financial arrangements do not admit of an increase of force—Commerce and Finance will soon be destroyed if we have not at all times an army sufficient for the exigencies of our situation. If it were a question whether our military establishments, or any other, should be sacrificed, there could be no doubt that any other establishment must be sacrificed, because our military establishment is the most necessary for our existence. But it is to be hoped that this will never be a question. Let us preserve all our establishments, and make them contribute to the support of each other; but it is necessary to guard with peculiar care the efficiency of our armies. Let us not adopt the absurd notion that Commerce and Finance can thrive by the neglect and reduction of the vital sources of our strength and existence. As well might we expect to give vigor to the limbs by chopping at the heart."

To this the Financier would reply, that if military establishments be necessary for the protection of Revenue, it is equally true that Revenue is necessary

to the support of military establishments, or in a word, that armies are of no use if we cannot pay them—nay, that unpaid armies are worse than useless, for they may become dangerous enemies. Our own guns have been shotted ere now in anticipation of the rising of our unpaid Sepoys. Metcalfe, however, anticipates the objection:

"It may be said, that we must, of necessity, confine our expenses within our resources. Nothing can be more true than this—that our power cannot last long if our expenses exceed our resources. So far all are doubtless agreed. The difference between the system prescribed by the Government at home and that which it is here proposed to recommend, is this:—the former—not avowedly or wilfully it is hoped, but, nevertheless, actually in its operations, attempts to restrain our military expenses within fixed limits, without regard to our safety. The latter would attend to our safety as the first consideration, and endeavor to make our resources meet our necessary expenditure. The inevitable consequence of the former, if persevered in, must be ruin; we may form better hopes of the latter."

Having said this, the writer proceeds to state his opinion that if our Revenue be not sufficient for the payment of our troops, we must augment it:

"If," he says, "the present state of our resources be inadequate to the provision of force sufficient for our safety, we must seek to raise them by extraordinary means. It is true that resources are not always procurable at will, but we must not acknowledge that we cannot raise sufficient resources from our immense empire, unless we be prepared also to admit that we cannot keep the country. When additional resources become necessary, they must be raised, and means must be had recourse to which in ordinary times might be deemed objectionable.

There ought to be, and surely must be, ways and means of raising additional revenue from the vast territories under our dominion. A native Government, equally strong in other respects, would extract much more from the extensive empire which we possess without injuring the prosperity of the country. For instance, a duty on the transport of grain would be levied by a native Government, and would probably be exceedingly productive. The proposal will no doubt be objected to. It is not agreeable to European prejudices; but a duty on traffic in grain—the principal trade of most parts of the country—is a source of revenue under every native Government, and, whether a good or bad source of revenue, it is the only one which promises to be abundantly productive. It is not intended here to enter into any discussion on the expediency or otherwise of such a duty. All that is meant to contend for is, that instead of indulging in the vain hope of promoting our prosperity by the reduction of our establishments, we ought to search for additional sources of revenue."

He then proceeded to argue, that in proportion as it was difficult to derive increased revenues from our existing territories, "the necessity of an increase of territory becomes more apparent:"

"Any acquisition of territory in the centre of India would contract the extent of frontier to be defended, or approximate the connexions between the forces of Bengal and those of the other Presidencies, or give a surplus of revenue available for the payment of a military force, without the chance of involving us in any embarrassments beyond those to which we are already exposed. So far, therefore, from contemplating an increase of territory as an evil to be avoided, we ought to desire it, wherever it can be justly obtained, as the source of safety and power."

But on whatsoever side of the controversy between

the Soldiers and the Financiers Reason and Justice might array themselves, it is certain that for some time the home authorities, as represented no less by the King's Ministers than by the Court of Directors, took the financial view of the great question, and determined that War and Diplomacy should remain in abeyance. The Secret Committee sent out positive instructions against interference with existing arrangements, and directed that "the system which was consolidated at the close of the last Mahratta war should be maintained with as little change as could be avoided." And soon afterwards, a great man having succeeded to the India Board,* the same mysterious authority wrote again, in 1816, "We are unwilling to incur the risk of a general war for the uncertain purpose of exterminating the Pindarrees. Extended political and military combinations we cannot at the present time sanction or approve. Any attempt," it was added, "at this moment to establish a new system of policy, tending to a wider diffusion of our power, must necessarily interfere with those economical relations which it is more than ever incumbent on us to recommend as indispensable to the maintenance of our present ascendency." It would be impossible to conceive anything more at variance with the political system which Metcalfe had propounded than were the instructions from England which reached Lord Moira in 1816, and frustrated all his plans for the settlement of Central India. Metcalfe, as we

* George Canning. See documents quoted in Professor Wilson's continuation of Mill's "History of India."

have seen, had confidently declared that a large military establishment was the first object that the Government should hold in view, and that everything else must give place to it. Finance and Commerce were, he said, but secondary considerations. Everything else must yield to the necessity of maintaining an irresistible military force. But the Directors of the East India Company looked at the question from a different point of view. They argued, that if we did not attend to our commerce and economise our revenue, we could neither maintain a large force nor carry out great political measures. "We find with extreme concern," they wrote in October, 1815, "that the effects of the Nepaulese war are so strongly felt in your financial department as to induce the apprehension that the advances to be issued to our European investment will be reduced to a very small sum indeed. . . . . If the advances for the investment are to be withheld, the sales at this House for India goods will soon be brought to a stand; in which case not only will the operations of our home finances be impeded, but it will also involve the impossibility of our being able to afford to India the assistance, in the event of the continuance of warfare, which would be so necessary, and which we should be so desirous to furnish." They entirely reversed the line of argument which Metcalfe had followed, starting from a different point, turning his effects into causes, his causes into effects, and standing up resolutely as Merchants and Financiers.

The Governor-General was ripe for action; but the decided tone of the home authorities necessarily

compelled him to pause before he put it into execution—the great measures on which he had determined when Metcalfe was in his camp. The opposition which he had encountered from the members of Council had in some measure given way under a pressure of circumstances, if not under a pressure of arguments. He had returned to Calcutta in the autumn of 1815, carrying with him in his portfolio an elaborate minute on the settlement of Central India, to be laid before the Council immediately on his arrival. This minute was drawn up by Mr. Ricketts, principally from memoranda furnished him by Metcalfe. Some parts of it, indeed, were written in Metcalfe's own words; all parts contained his arguments. The policy which it inculcated was, indeed, emphatically Metcalfe's policy. It was ordained by Lord Moira's Ministers that the Delhi Resident should take "the laboring oar."* It was not likely that the bold schemes of the Up-country Council would find ready acceptance at Calcutta. But in the "Chapter of Accidents" there was much written down in their favor. The audacity of the

* See letters of Mr. Ricketts to Mr. Metcalfe, *passim*. "By this dawk I have forwarded to you the outline of a proposed minute to be laid before the Council by his Lordship on his arrival in Calcutta. It has been seen by Lord Moira, by Adam, and by Fagan; and will meet your approbation generally, as the sentiments and plan are your own—nay, the wording yours in many parts, as taken from the admirable notes with which you furnished his Lordship. Still, the whole will require correction, and which I beg of you to undertake without any scruples." And again, in another letter, "You know the value which Lord Moira attaches to your suggestions—you know also the importance to Lord Moira of defending with sound arguments a point of this nature, which, though of vital consequence to the interests of the Indian Government, will be opposed, I fear, by the Council and by the Court of Directors. As a friend of his Lordship, you will feel every anxiety to aid in so good a cause, and I cannot prove my friendship better than by entrusting the laboring oar in the struggle to your able management."—[*Camp, Futtehghur, July and August*, 1815.—*MS. Correspondence.*]

Pindarrees was increasing under the fostering influence of continued impunity, and it was clear that we could not much longer abstain from taking decided measures for the suppression of these reckless marauders, without danger to ourselves, and cruelty to our subjects. Ameer Khan and his Patan levies were making further encroachments on the weak Rajpoot States, and there were indications of a spirit of increased hostility discernible at Scindiah's Court. In this conjuncture, Lord Moira's associates at the Council Board began somewhat to relax in that rigid maintenance of the principles of non-interference which had distinguished their recent proceedings. In spite of the decrees of the home authorities, the spring of 1816 witnessed what may be called the beginning of the end. Gradually the policy which Metcalfe had so emphatically expounded was now beginning to unfold itself; and with equal interest and equal vigilance the Governor-General at Calcutta and the Resident at Delhi now watched the progress of events.

It was part of the great scheme of policy to bring the Rajpoot States under British protection. But from this, in many instances, we were debarred by existing treaties with Scindiah and Holkar. It was one of our objects, therefore, at this time, to find just and reasonable grounds for the setting aside of those articles which held us in this inconvenient restraint. That such occasions would arise Metcalfe had never doubted. But he was not one to suffer the eagerness of his wishes to blunt the keenness of his perceptions, and to see opportunities and occa-

sions when none actually existed. He saw, for example, that the weakness of Holkar was becoming more and more conspicuous, and his affairs more and more confused, but he could not bring himself to believe, as Lord Moira suggested in the following letter, that Holkar in his helplessness would be eager to throw himself into our arms:

LORD MOIRA TO MR. METCALFE.

"Calcutta, January 6, 1816.

"My dear Sir,—The report which you have transmitted respecting the state of Holkar's affairs induces me to bring to your recollection a conversation which passed between us relative to his Government. The little chance which appears for the Regent's extricating herself and him from distress by any other means, renders it probable that she might lend a willing ear to a suggestion for putting that state under the protection of the British Government. I should not require any subsidy, because I must know that it could not be paid. But I should stipulate to have the existing treaty abrogated, and a new one framed which should leave us at liberty to treat with all the Western States. Of course I should bind Holkar's troops (who must, perhaps, be brought into order by some pecuniary advances from us) to be at our disposal. All subordinate points would be easily settled. No proposition must appear to come from us. The suggestion must be made through some trustworthy individual, as if from his own view of matters. If encouraged, he should be authorised to speak to you on the subject.

"I have the honor, my dear Sir, to remain with great regard, your faithful and obedient servant,

"Moira."

To this letter Metcalfe immediately returned the following reply, setting forth that the unwillingness

of Holkar's Durbar to form any closer connexion with the British Government was still painfully apparent, but that he would do all that could be done to dissipate this mistrust:

MR. METCALFE TO LORD MOIRA.

"My Lord,—I have had the honor of receiving your Lordship's gracious favor of the 6th inst., and shall, in consequence, consider myself authorised to give every encouragement to the Court of Holkar to make proposals for our protection, as far as I can do so consistently with your Lordship's desire that no proposition may appear to come from us.

"The difficulty will be in procuring a trusty person to make the suggestion without its being known to come from us. All our political agencies in this country are so beset by authorised spies, and every native employed by us has so many inducements to make a parade of the importance of his employment, that it is almost impossible to manage such a communication with the requisite secresy.

"The conduct of the Court of Holkar in submitting to the extreme distress which it suffers, without applying to us for protection, seems to be one of the strongest proofs that could be conceived of their reluctance to be connected with us. The only idea that I can suppose to govern their councils is, that of struggling, if possible, with their distresses, and retaining their independence until the arrival of the young Maharajah at manhood, in the hope that he may be able to restore the honor of the fallen state. They know that their independence must cease as soon as they come under our protection; they therefore try every expedient rather than apply to us, and even have recourse to Scindiah, their old enemy, for pecuniary assistance—he who would long ago have pounced upon Holkar's possessions, had not his fear of forcing that power into our arms deterred him, would perhaps be induced to exert himself

to relieve their distresses rather than witness an event so undesirable for him.

"As long as Holkar's Court see any hope of relief from any other quarter they will not probably apply to us, and any appearance of anxiety on our part to procure a connexion would serve to increase their reluctance. There is reason to hope that the time must come when they will solicit our protection as their only refuge, and it is probable that they will feel this disposition more strongly if we preserve the appearance of indifference.

"These considerations would have induced me to recommend the utmost caution in inviting any overtures; and I am happy to find these sentiments sanctioned by your Lordship's previous determination.

"I hope that I shall meet your Lordship's wishes by acting in the spirit of the preceding observations; that is, by giving every possible encouragement consistent with the preservation of a dignified indifference, and a determination to have that solicited and sought for which would not be prized if we tendered it gratuitously.

"An instance of the little degree in which the views of the Court of Holkar have of late been directed towards us, is exhibited in the circumstance that they have now no proper representative with us. Their resident wakeel at Delhi died about a year ago; he was nearly related to the Minister Balaram, and the latter, in consequence, conferred the vacant office on the son of the former wakeel, though an infant. This infant is attended by a very inefficient assistant. I pointed out the absurdity of this arrangement when it took place, but the views of the Minister were best answered by its preservation, and when an attempt was made by another party at the Court to effect the appointment of a more capable envoy, the existing arrangement was defended on the ground that there was no negotiation likely to occur with the British Government which could need the presence of a real man of business.

"The inefficient state of the representative at Delhi renders it difficult to sound the present disposition of the Court through its agent, or to make those friendly communications in continued intercourse, which might encourage overtures without betraying anxiety.

"I shall, however, avail myself of any opportunity for carrying into effect your Lordship's instructions; trusting that if I have in any way misunderstood them, I may be honored with further commands.

"I hope that Lady Loudoun and your Lordship's charming family will meet with a pleasant passage, and that your Lordship may have the satisfaction as soon as possible of hearing of their safe arrival.

"I have the honor to be,

"Your Lordship's obedient servant,

"C. T. METCALFE."

That sooner or later the prostrate condition of Holkar's family must work to our advantage, was not to be doubted. In the mean while, we were greatly exerting ourselves to extend our protection over two other states. It was with no common satisfaction that Metcalfe, in the spring and summer of 1816, received the following letters:

MR. ADAM TO MR. METCALFE.

"Calcutta, April 28, 1816.

"MY DEAR METCALFE,—The Jyepore question was discussed in Council to-day, and it has been determined to renew the alliance—a resolution in which I most heartily rejoice. It was opposed by Edmonstone and Dowdeswell, and supported by Seton very decidedly and handsomely. I shall commence on the instructions without delay, but I lose no time in apprising you of the result of the discussion, as you will be able, with your knowledge of Lord Moira's sentiments and views, to proceed

without awaiting the official intimation. The greatest attention will be paid to the suggestions contained in your letter to me of the 29th March. Nothing will be precipitated; in a word, you will manage the negotiation in your own way. Ochterlony will command the force to advance into Jyepore when the treaty is settled. He will pay us a visit here first, to discuss with Lord Moira the military part of the plan. I do hope we shall yet save that devoted state, and combine the cause of justice and humanity with the promotion of our own interests; but I have been trembling for the issue of the discussion, and feared at one time that all was lost.

"Believe me very truly yours,

"J. ADAM."

LORD MOIRA TO MR. METCALFE.

"Barrackpore, June 9, 1816.

"MY DEAR SIR,—I write a hasty line to apprise you that I have this day received the subsidiary treaty signed by the Rajah of Nagpore. The importance of having secured this point will be readily appreciated by you. Give us credit for not sleeping over our work. Colonel Doveton is to occupy Nagpore for the moment, as it was essential that no time should be lost in the introduction of our troops. But I mean that it should be hereafter a command from the Bengal army, to which I think I shall ultimately render some service.

"Believe me, my dear Sir,

"Faithfully yours,

"MOIRA."

When, a year and a half before, Metcalfe had said, "If we do not afford our protection when it is solicited, we must expect that it may be rejected when we proffer it. If we refuse now to conclude an alliance with Jyepore, it may happen that Jyepore will be reluctant to conclude one at the precise period when we deem it advantageous to ourselves,"

there was a sagacity almost prophetic in the misgivings he expressed. No sooner were all impediments to the proposed treaty removed upon the one side, than forthwith they started up on the other. Now that the measure had passed Council, it seemed that there was nothing to do but to conclude the treaty. The coyness of Jyepore, however, now began to manifest itself and to vex Metcalfe; and it was not until two years had passed away since John Adam's letter was written, that we were permitted to "combine justice and humanity with the promotion of our own interests," and to "save the devoted state."

In the mean while, great events were developing themselves. The settlement of Central India, as recommended by Metcalfe, was about to be undertaken in earnest. A reluctant assent to the proposed movement for the suppression of the Pindarrees had been wrung from the Home Government; and Lord Moira, somewhat enlarging the scheme sanctioned in Leadenhall-street, now determined to take the field with an overwhelming army for the extirpation of these destructive marauders. It was determined that at the commencement of the cold season of 1817 war to the knife should be declared against these people, as common enemies of mankind. No neutrality on the part of the Mahratta States was to be permitted. They were to be called upon to co-operate with us against the Pindarrees; and perhaps the expectation entertained that some previous reluctance, or some subsequent infidelity, would embroil us with the sub-

stantive states in such a manner as to enable us to make certain new distributions of their territory, was not, in some quarters, much unlike a hope.

It was hard to say, when we should once have taken the field and commenced operations, who would not come within the scope of the chastisement we were preparing for the Pindarrees. There were symptoms in many quarters of that restlessness, born of suspicion, which is soon developed into open hostility at a Native Court. In the mean while, preparations on a large scale were being made for the coming campaign; and our statesmen were busying themselves with the tangled skein of politics which the aspect of affairs in Central India presented to them. First to clear away one difficulty, then another; to simplify their diplomacy as much as they could, was the great primal object of their endeavors. One great point was to detach Ameer Khan from the confederacy of predatory chiefs. On this subject Lord Moira wrote to the Delhi Resident early in May:

LORD MOIRA TO MR. METCALFE.

"Barrackpore, May 5, 1817.

"My dear Sir,—Bustle in any one quarter of this country is so likely to excite the speculations and spur the activity of individuals in other parts, that the state of things at Poonah may influence districts nearer to you. Hence it may be wise, if it can be done without affectation, to waken a little the hopes of Ameer Khan. An appearance of wishing to know precisely the territory to which he looks, with obscure hints that there may be soon a course of measures favorable to his views, might be likely to keep him right. Endeavors, I am persuaded, are

earnestly exerted to secure his aid in a grand co-operation of predatory powers; and his declining to enrol himself in such a combination would operate much to keep the others quiet. The coming to a point would be easily evaded by you on the plea that I was shortly expected in the Upper Country. That visit I shall undoubtedly make, though I shall not think it necessary to be at Cawnpore till near the opening of the cool season. . . . .

"Adieu, my dear Sir.

"I have the honor to be, sincerely,

"Your faithful, humble servant,

"MOIRA."

To this question of the detachment of Ameer Khan from the great predatory confederacy, Metcalfe directed his thoughts. In a review of the state of affairs, forwarded, soon after the receipt of this letter, to the Governor-General, he thus expressed his opinion of the course to be pursued towards Ameer Khan:

"To Meer Khan we might offer a guarantee in perpetuity, for himself and his heirs, of the territories which he at present holds from Holkar, yielding from nine to twelve lakhs per annum.

"Some provision is necessary to induce and enable him to quit his present course of life, and it is proper that it should consist of the same territories which have hitherto supported him as a pest to the peaceable part of India.

"We might require of him to disband his predatory army, to dispose of his artillery to us at a fair valuation, and to reside quietly and inoffensively on the territories assigned to him under the protection of the British Government, with only such a force as might be necessary for the collection of his revenues.

"Meer Khan would, perhaps, require from us a large sum of money, under the pretence of having to pay up his troops

before discharging them; but we shall require all our money for other purposes.

"He would also, probably, ask for a grant of territory in our dominions; but it is to be hoped that we need not make such a sacrifice in his favor.

"Should he not accept the terms we offer him, he must abide by the consequences of our determination to put down all predatory powers, without having any provision secured to him."

On the great chart of diplomacy now to be unfolded, the conduct of negotiations with Holkar, with Ameer Khan, and with the Rajpoot States, was assigned to Metcalfe. It has been said that our proceedings towards these principalities had been much encumbered by our treaty with Scindiah. But in the autumn of 1817, as the Governor-General was proceeding towards the scene of his intended operations, he came to the resolution, which had for some time been taking root in his mind, to ignore these embarrassing obligations, and to enter into treaties for the protection of Oudipore and the other forbidden states. On this subject the Governor-General —Lord Moira no longer, for he had been created, for his services, Marquis of Hastings—wrote from Cawnpore, at the beginning of October:

LORD HASTINGS TO MR. METCALFE.

"Cawnpore, October 5, 1817.

"My dear Sir,—You will have formal instructions sent to you on the point; but you cannot too soon learn my sentiments respecting Oudipore. It has been notified to Scindiah that from late occurrences I consider the treaties existing between us as virtually dissolved—that I am ready to renew our rela-

tions, with the confirmation of all his former advantages; but that I must claim and exercise the right of entering into engagements with any states whose position may afford me a security against the re-establishment of the power of the Pindarrees, when they shall be once dispersed. That there might be no ambiguity, I have specified the Rajpoot States. Now the desirable effect would be to have Jyepore, Oudipore, and Joudpore concur in one general arrangement to be taken under British protection. The same subsidiary fine would then do for all three, and the full expenses of it would be easily met by these states. The attempt to bring them into this agreement should be made before such a shock is given to the predatory associations, as may make the Rajpoots feel tolerably secure against future molestation.

"Scindiah has assented to the progress of the British troops from Boorhaupore to the Nerbudda, and is full of professions of his good disposition; but we do not trust him too far. The troops here, both European and native, are in high health, though there is dreadful sickness down the river. At Chaprah, the burials have been from threescore to fourscore in a day. The Bhurtpore Rajah has spontaneously sent 400 horse. I have the honor, my dear Sir, to remain, with great regard,

"Your faithful and obedient servant,

"HASTINGS."

Metcalfe now saw clearly his work before him; and in a little while he was in the very midst of its performance.

On the morning of the 16th of October, 1817, the Governor-General took the field. Of the events which then ensued, great events following each other in rapid succession, until the war with the Pindarrees had grown into a new war with the Mahrattas, it is not the province of Charles Metcalfe's biographer to write in detail. A few sentences must describe

the follies and the forfeitures of the Mahratta chiefs. All through the month of October the Peishwah had been collecting troops with the avowed object of co-operating with the British force. Of his sincerity great doubts were entertained. It was known that the treaty of Poonah was distasteful to him, and it had for some time been rumored at the other Mahratta Courts that he was seeking an opportunity to throw off an alliance that so much oppressed him. That some such design was floating in his mind soon became apparent. Towards the end of the month there was an immense concourse of troops in the neighbourhood of Poonah, swaggering and blustering, and pressing on the British post. On the last day of the month the aspect of affairs was so menacing, that the Resident, Mountstuart Elphinstone, moved the British brigade to Kirkee. Every day produced more decisive symptoms of approaching hostility, until, on the 6th of November, the madness of the Mahratta was at its height. The British Residency was attacked and plundered. The savage excitement of the enemy was extreme; their threats were tremendous. But the high courage of the Resident and his military supporters turned their boasting into disgrace. There was a gallant action, in which large bodies of Mahrattas were ignominiously beaten by a handful of British troops. And before the enemy could bring against the victors the re-assembled army, with which they threatened to overwhelm them, reinforcements were sent to aid the little party of devoted men. Badjee Rao, the Peishwah, fled, but was afterwards captured; and it

was said in Lord Hastings' camp that Elphinstone had become Peishwah in his stead.

Whilst these events were passing at Poonah, there was a somewhat similar development at Nagpore. The Rajah, during our discussions in October with Badjee Rao, had eagerly watched the progress of affairs at the Peishwah's Court. Although there were some suspicious appearances which rendered it necessary that Mr. Jenkins should observe diligently all that was passing before him, and should be prepared for the possibility of a rupture, there were no symptoms of overt hostility. It soon became apparent that the Rajah was intriguing with Badjee Rao; but even when the latter threw off the mask, and rushed desperately into hostilities, a wavering policy was pursued at Nagpore. Towards the end of November, however, there were increased symptoms of hostility; and on the 26th our troops were attacked. Then was fought that gallant action at Seetabuldee, the memory of which is dear to the Indian soldier, and which History will never let die. The Berar Rajah, penitent and desponding, was soon at the mercy of the British. He had forfeited his dominions by this act of treachery against the paramount State, and all that he now had to lean upon was the clemency of the Government he had outraged.

In Scindiah's camp the month of October had been also one of restlessness and tumult. Reports of Badjee Rao's intention to break with the British had kept Scindiah's tumultuous soldiery in a state

of feverish excitement. Resorting to all sorts of shifts and expedients for delay, the Durbar hesitated to conclude the new treaty presented to them, whilst they were secretly intriguing with Badjee Rao, the Pindarrees, and Nepaul. This was not to be suffered. Our diplomatists became peremptory in their demands; our troops were in full march on the Gwalior frontier; so on the day on which Badjee Rao attacked the Poonah Residency, the treaty with Scindiah was signed. But there was little likelihood of a cordial alliance. It was obviously Scindiah's desire to obstruct, rather than to facilitate, our operations. The auxiliary horse with which he had pledged himself to furnish us, was delayed; and it was scarcely doubted that if any disasters should overtake us, he would follow the example of his brethren of Poonah and Nagpore.

Such were the difficulties which beset the negotiations of Elphinstone, Jenkins, and Close at their several Mahratta Courts. The diplomatic business which had been entrusted to Metcalfe was attended with no such stormy proceedings. His negotiations with Ameer Khan were brought to a favorable issue. On the 9th of November, the agent of the Rohilla chief signed at Delhi, on behalf of his master, a treaty by which he stipulated to disband his Patan levies, and to restore all the territories which he had wrested from the Rajpoots. On the part of the British Government, it was stipulated that a sum of money should be paid to him, to enable him to disburse the arrears of pay due to his followers, and

that the lands which he had held under Holkar, as the price of his military support, should thenceforth be secured to him under British guarantee.*

But to conclude a treaty with a native chief is one thing; to render it binding upon him is another. Great doubts were entertained whether Ameer Khan would be true to his engagements. And a question of very difficult solution arose after the signing of the treaty—a question whether it were more expedient to disband Ameer Khan's levies, or to keep them together under his command until the end of the war. On Ochterlony, who commanded a division of the grand army, posted in the Delhi territory, and who had diplomatic powers in the Rajpootana country, devolved the duty of giving effect to the arrangements involved in the treaty with Ameer Khan. Conceiving a higher opinion of the sincerity of that chief than Metcalfe had ever entertained, he was anxious to keep the Patan levies together, and was not without a hope that they might be advantageously employed against our enemies.† Metcalfe believed him to be the dupe of the Rohilla; but Lord Hastings trusted in the sincerity of

* Colonel Sutherland, one of Metcalfe's warmest admirers, in his "Sketch of the Native States of India," calls this treaty one of "rather doubtful character;" but does not enter upon any more minute criticism. Sir David Ochterlony, writing to Metcalfe, put the transaction in its true light, when he said, "Excepting the convenience of the measure, I am not convinced of the propriety of detaching this chief from his nominal master and giving him a large portion of country not our own, before we have had the least communication with his principal on his past conduct, the grounds of our displeasure, or our wishes or determinations respecting his future conduct." That future conduct, however, soon quieted our scruples, and imparted to the treaty with Ameer Khan a sort of *ex post facto* justice.

† "If I had two lakhs of rupees," wrote the General, "of my own, I should not hesitate to give it to Meer Khan, so completely has he assured me of his sincerity."

Ameer Khan,* and was anxious to encourage it by hopes of future rewards. What he might have done, had the war progressed differently, it is hard to say; but he soon saw that it was his true policy to assume friendship, if he did not feel it, and at least to comport himself as a faithful ally.

Whilst thus detaching Ameer Khan from the great confederacy, it was Metcalfe's business, at the same time, to spread over the different Rajpoot principalities the network of diplomacy which had long been designed for them. As soon as it had been finally determined to take the field for the suppression of the Pindarrees, Metcalfe had addressed a circular letter to all the chiefs of Rajpootana, inviting them to send agents to Delhi for the purpose of concluding such engagements with the British Government as would ensure for them, throughout the coming struggle, the protection of the paramount Power.† The requisition was promptly obeyed. The first who sent his representative to Metcalfe's Durbar was Zalim Singh, of Kotah. Zalim Singh had been the first chief with whom, when a boy on his way to Scindiah's Camp, he had interchanged diplomatic amenities;‡ and Kotah had been the subject of the first State-paper which he had drawn up for the use

* "If he will depend on me," wrote Lord Hastings to Ochterlony, "the narrow condition of the treaty shall not be the measure of his reward."

† "The conditions were, simply, that any tribute demandable under a fixed agreement with a Mahratta or Patan chief, should be paid directly to the British Treasury, leaving us to account for it to the party to whom it might be due; and that our protection should be afforded on the usual condition of abstaining from the contraction of any new relations with other powers, and submitting to our arbitration of external disputes."—[*Prinsep's History*, vol. ii.]

‡ See *ante*, pages 70-71.

of Government.* Then the Princes of Joudpore and Oudipore, long-suffering victims of Mahratta and Patan oppression, sent in their adhesion to the great scheme of alliance. Next, Boondee, Bekaneer, Jessulmere, and other lesser states, sent their agents to the British Durbar, to conclude engagements with the paramount Power. And, lastly, came Jyepore, which ought to have been first to allow itself to be saved by our intervention. It happened that, when the time came, this state did not wish to be saved, and talked largely about saving itself. Our negotiations with Ameer Khan had somewhat embarrassed our proceedings towards the Rajpoot States; and now Jyepore was obviously endeavoring to take advantage of our complicated relations, and, as Ochterlony said, to play us off against Ameer Khan. There were curious alternations of presumption and alarm discernible in the conduct of the Jyporeans; and it was hard to say whether the wavering policy they pursued was dictated by apprehensions of our designs or a studied effort to overreach us. The example of the other states was, however, followed at last, and on the 2nd of April the long-talked-of treaty with Jyepore was formally signed.

Two great objects had thus been gained by our diplomacy. We had rendered Ameer Khan harmless, and we had brought the Rajpoot States under our protection. In the mean while, equal success was waiting on our arms. The Pindarrees were scattered and destroyed. Holkar, who had joined

* *Ante*, pages 103-108. Zalim Singh was not the nominal, but the virtual ruler of Kotah.

the enemy,* was disastrously beaten in a pitched battle. The Peishwah was a prisoner in our camp. The Rajah of Berar was prostrate at our feet. Scindiah was hanging upon our skirts, a reluctant ally; feeble as a friend, but, at least, harmless as an enemy. The condition of things which Metcalfe had so long desired had now arrived. We had suppressed the Pindarree power; we had obtained the right to make new treaties with the substantive States—to enforce a new distribution of territory; to consolidate our own empire, and to secure the permanent tranquillity of Central India. The death-blow, indeed, was now given to the Mahrattas. The Poonah territories were bodily absorbed into our own dominions. The Rajah of Berar was deposed, and his country, after the amputation of a considerable limb, placed, during the minority of the new ruler, under the administration of the British Resident. Holkar, convinced of his true interests, alike by our power and our moderation, was brought, after certain cessions of territory and tribute, including the Jagheers we had transferred to Ameer Khan, under British protection; whilst the latter chief became a peaceful administrator and a firm ally to the end of his life. Central India was really settled by these great military and diplomatic operations, and peace and security established where before had been incessant strife and continual alarm.

* Metcalfe, it has been shown, had always been of opinion that Holkar's strong disinclination to place himself under the protection of the British, was not to be overcome so long as there was a hope of his obtaining, by other means, a more independent position. The confederacy now established against us seemed to encourage these hopes; so he threw himself into the arms of the enemy.

But the period of Metcalfe's residence in Central India was now drawing to a close. The question of the Secretaryship, which had agitated him a few years before, was now to be revived. On the 9th of October, 1818, John Adam wrote, at the request of Lord Hastings, saying, that as Mr. Ricketts had determined to proceed to England in the following January, the Private Secretaryship would then be vacant; and that, as the Political Secretaryship would then also be vacant, the Governor-General hoped that Metcalfe would be induced to accept the conjoint offices.* The flattering offer was not refused. Not, however, without some misgivings, did Metcalfe, on the 23rd of October, reply that he was at the service of the Governor-General, and that he would at once make his arrangements to deliver over the charge of the Delhi Residency to his successor.

But who was to be his successor? The solution of the question greatly perplexed the Calcutta Council. After much consideration, it was determined to entrust the military and political duties to Sir David Ochterlony, and to place the civil administration of the district in the hands of a Commissioner or a Board.† "It is not to be expected," wrote

* By the elevation of Mr. Adam to a seat in Council. In another letter that gentleman wrote: "I am working hard to impose upon you nothing that I can do myself. I sincerely hope that you will like your new employment. I do, from long habit, in spite of the toil and occasional vexation that belong to all employments. I am sure you will find yourself happy in Calcutta, where so many will rejoice to see you established. I cannot tell you the comfort I feel at the department passing into such hands."

† The details of the arrangement consequent on Metcalfe's transfer to Calcutta, are sketched out in the following passage of a letter from John Adam, dated November 16, 1818:—"You will receive by this post authority to make over charge of the Residency to Ochterlony, whom Lord

John Adam, "of Ochterlony, or of any other man, that he should go through the Herculean labors that you have sustained." "The political and military duties," he added in another letter, "will be abundant occupation for any one man; and the internal administration has now become so large a concern, as to make it very expedient to place it on the proposed footing on your being withdrawn."

It is hard to say whether the arrangement for the succession were more pleasing to Ochterlony or to Metcalfe. Throughout long years—years which had brought fame and honor to the old soldier—he had smarted under a sense of the injury that had been inflicted upon him in 1805, by his removal from the Delhi Residency. And when the rumors first reached him, that he was to succeed Metcalfe, he could not bring himself to believe in their truth. "I cannot help thinking," he wrote, "that Sir George Barlow's infliction is to pursue me through life." He had long been eager to recover his lost position. He cared not where the situation might be—what the emoluments of office, as long as he were styled "Resident" again.* When, therefore, Metcalfe,

Hastings has resolved to appoint to succeed you. He is to command the third division, and to manage the affairs of Jyepore and Ameer Khan, Keerouly, Kishenagur, and generally of the Eastern Rajpoot States; and to take charge of Joudpore, Oudipore, Kotah, and Boondee. The extension of political and military duty thus to be assigned to Ochterlony, will make it necessary to relieve him entirely, or nearly so, from the administration of the territory of Delhi. The outline of the plan proposed is to appoint a Civil officer, with high powers, judicial and revenue, distinct from the political authority."

* How strong this feeling was, may be gathered from the following touching passage, in a letter written to Metcalfe, in January, 1818:—"In twelve days," wrote Ochterlony, "I shall complete my sixtieth year; and in that long period have never but once had just ground to complain of ill-fortune or ill-usage; but that once, though it has led me to unexpected fame and honor, has, for nearly twelve years, preyed upon my spirits; and all I have since gained appears no recom-

eager to convey the glad tidings to his friend, was the first to communicate to him that his appointment to the Delhi Residency had really been determined by the Governor-General, the delighted veteran, who at threescore was as eager and enthusiastic as a boy, wrote back that his correspondent was not to "expect much sense or connexion in a letter written in a tumult of joy and exultation." He was eager, in carrying out all the subordinate arrangements attendant on the change, to be guided by the wishes and suggestions of his friend. "To whose recommendations," he asked, "can I more earnestly wish to attend than to those of the child of my affection? If I do not speak of other motives, it is not because I am insensible that others exist; but because I flatter myself that none can be more acceptable to you than the forcible one implied in a parental love."*

The time for Metcalfe's departure had now come. He was deeply attached to Delhi, and could not quit the place or its society without many a throb of regret. He was much beloved by the people of all races. His benevolence, his hospitality, his pure unselfishness, his strict integrity, had endeared him

pense for a removal which stamped me with those who knew me best, and loved me most, as ignorant and incompetent, and with the world in general, venal and culpable. A feeling which I cannot describe, but which is quite distinct from the love of ease and the advantages of a Residency, makes me wish for that situation. I would not care where; the name alone seems as if it would wash out a stain—but if that is denied, I shall be happier at Kurnal than anywhere—for there, or near it, are, or will be at no distant date, I trust, assembled all those whom I love with paternal affection; and there, like a Patriarch, I wish to live in the greatest enjoyment this life can bestow—the society of those I love, and who, I believe, return it with sincere and fond affection."

* *Sir D. Ochterlony to Mr. Metcalfe, November* 24, 1818.—*MS.*

alike to Natives and Europeans. As the day of his departure approached, the latter held a public meeting, and voted him a farewell address.* It was the first of a long line of similar testimonials of public admiration, which were now to pursue him, from different parts of the world, almost to the very day of his death.

He went, regretting and regretted—but he knew that as Resident at Delhi he had not been an unprofitable servant. Twelve years afterwards, referring to this period of his career, he thus summed up the benefits which, under his administration of the Delhi territory, had been conferred upon the people:†

"It may be as well to mention a few facts, as characteristic of the spirit in which the former administration at Delhi was conducted, and the discretionary power of the superior authority exercised. Capital punishment was generally and almost wholly abstained from, and I believe without any bad effect. Corporal punishment was discouraged, and finally abolished. Swords and other implements of intestine warfare, to which the people were prone, were turned into plough-shares, not figuratively alone, but literally also; villages being made to give up their arms, which were returned to them in the shape of implements of agriculture. Suttees were prohibited. The rights of Government were better maintained than in other provinces, by not being subjected to the irreversible decisions of its

* The address, and Metcalfe's reply to it, will be found in the Appendix.

† Although in Chapter X. I have treated at some length of Metcalfe's Civil Administration, I had intended to say more in this place about what some years afterwards was described as the "Delhi System," and which was severely criticised by a very able member of the Bengal Civil Service. But the length to which this chapter has already extended, and some doubt as to whether the discussion would be interesting to the general reader, have warned me to desist. Some passages, however, from Metcalfe's defence of the system, are given in the Appendix.

judicial servants, when there were no certain laws for their guidance and control.

"The rights of the people were better preserved, by the maintenance of the village constitutions, and by avoiding those pernicious sales of lands for arrears of revenue, which in other provinces have tended so much to destroy the hereditary rights of the mass of the agricultural community. In consequence, there has been no necessity in the Delhi territory for those extraordinary remedies which have been deemed expedient elsewhere, both to recover the rights of Government, and to restore those of the people.

"When it comes to be decided whether the Delhi territory has on the whole been better or worse governed than the provinces under the Regulations, the question, it is to be hoped, will be determined by impartial judges, free from prejudice and passion."

Note.—I have given in the Appendix some passages from a Minute touching upon the subject of the allowances of the Delhi Residency. I have also quoted, at some length, in the same place, Metcalfe's account of certain transactions connected with the alleged corruption of some of his subordinates at Delhi — especially of his Moonshee Hufoozoodeen, of whom mention is made in the earlier part of this volume.—*Author.*

CHAPTER XIII.

[1819—1820.]

THE SECRETARYSHIP.

Constitution of the Supreme Government—The Secretariat—Duties of the Political Secretary—The Private Secretary—Metcalfe and Lord Hastings—Irksomeness of the Situation—Correspondence with Sir John Malcolm—Contemplated Removal to Central India—Correspondence with Mr. Henry Russell—The Hyderabad Residency.

So Charles Metcalfe again revisited Calcutta, and entered upon the duties of the Private Secretaryship. After an interval of a few days, the higher office of Political Secretary was vacated by the elevation of the old incumbent to a seat in Council, and the some-time Resident at Delhi launched manfully into the ministerial duties of Government—a worthy successor of Edmonstone and Adam.*

The colleagues of Lord Hastings in the administration were at this time Mr. James Stuart and Mr. John Adam. Metcalfe's old friend and comrade,

* Sir John Malcolm, who had the highest possible opinion of Adam, wrote to Metcalfe, December 30, 1818:—"I am glad, both on your own account and that of the public, that you are gone to Calcutta. I think you in every way an adequate successor to John Adam. I could say more to no man." And not long afterwards Mr. Edmonstone wrote to him:—"Highly as your abilities and services at Delhi were to be appreciated, still I confess that I am happy to learn that my department—the department in which I labored for so many years, and to which I must chiefly attribute my success in India—had devolved upon one so peculiarly capable of fulfilling the duties as yourself."

Butterworth Bayley, was Chief-Secretary; Mr. Holt Mackenzie had charge of the Revenue and Judicial business; and Mr. Swinton was Persian Secretary. So far, therefore, as personal associations could render his position at this time a pleasant one, he had everything to make it so in the characters of the men with whom he was brought into official intercourse.

No one who has observed the frequency with which the names of Edmonstone and Adam have occurred in the preceding chapters of this Memoir, can be altogether ignorant of the duties of a Political Secretary. With the extension of our Indian Empire these duties had necessarily increased. The office is one which has been held in succession by the most eminent men who have adorned the service of the Company. It demands the possession of extensive local knowledge and experience, and profound political sagacity. Although ostensibly only an executive officer, the Secretary is the adviser of the Governor-General, and, in most instances, the rough-hewer of his measures. The amount of his actual power is necessarily determined by the personal character and qualifications of the Governor-General. But the immense extent and diversity of the business to be discharged by the Government being well considered, it is obvious that no statesman at the head of it, whatever may be his genius, his knowledge, and his activity, can shape or even originate all the measures for which he is responsible. A weak man will become, perhaps, the tool of his Secretaries, and leave the Go-

vernment of the country entirely in their hands; but such weakness is strength in comparison with that of the Governor-General who thinks that he can govern India *without* the aid of his Secretaries. Great men, like Cornwallis and Wellesley, steer a middle course. They govern India for themselves, but not by themselves. They use their Secretaries; they are not used by them. They know the full value of their Barlows and Edmonstones; but they do not surrender themselves to be tools in their hands. Lord Wellesley was a man of consummate ability, of brave resolution, and of infinite self-reliance; but it is not too much to say, that he would have been shorn of half his strength if Mr. Edmonstone had not been continually at his elbow.

Of the influence of the Political Secretary in the councils of the State, Metcalfe had seen enough of the ministerial arrangements of three successive Governments to acquire a very clear perception. But he was not one to usurp power not legitimately his own, or to dogmatise where it was his duty to suggest. He had the highest possible respect for constituted authority; and he did his duty without exceeding it.* Moreover, the circumstances of the Indian Government of 1819-20 were not of a nature to place any large amount of power in the hands of a Political Secretary, even if he had been inclined

* Some years afterwards, when he had himself become a member of the Supreme Council, Metcalfe complained of this usurpation of the Secretaries, said that they often gave their opinions very arrogantly and dogmatically in Council, and that they not seldom caballed with the Governor-General against the members of Council, and contrived to get all the patronage into their own hands.—See some further remarks on Metcalfe's respect for constituted authority in Chapter II. Vol. II.

to exercise it. Metcalfe had, in fact, been more powerful when only a volunteer in the camp of the Governor-General. He then really shaped the great measures which were now completed, or which only required a few final strokes from the artificer's hand to render them complete.

That with regard to these final measures for the settlement of Central India he sometimes differed from the highest authorities, and had opinions of his own apart from those which he was called upon to enunciate as the organ of Government, may be gathered from the following letter to Mr. Jenkins. It is an important commentary on the events described in the last chapter, and illustrates the general views of the writer on the great question of interference with the Native States:

CHARLES METCALFE TO RICHARD JENKINS.

"Calcutta, July 5, 1820.

"My dear Jenkins,—Both at Delhi and here I have for many years been complaining that public business does not leave me any time for private correspondence; and from giving way to this feeling, I have lost the interchange of ideas with several valuable friends; I may say with yourself, for our communications have been rare; and certainly with Elphinstone, a most delightful correspondent, with whom I have now little or no intercourse of that kind. I often think that the fault is more my own than that of my business, though at Delhi the work in my time was certainly overwhelming; and here I cannot say that I find leisure for what I wish. Be the cause real or fancied, I have for a long time been anxious in vain to give you my own sentiments distinct from those of Government, given through the channel of their Secretary on part of your late letters, in which I think my own sentiments came nearer

than those of Government to yours. I must, however, go some way back. I have always regretted that after the conquest of the Nagpore country, we elevated any new Rajah to the Musnud. As soon as I heard of the breaking out of the Peishwah and Appa Sahib, I wrote to Adam, urging him with my feeble voice that we should take the territories of both, and unite them to the British dominions. Malcolm and others seemed to take up and advocate a scheme of setting up a Mahomedan interest in opposition to the Hindoos, or more especially the Mahrattas. It appeared to me that the time was past for our trusting to any balance of power for our support; that the setting up of Mahomedan powers was in itself objectionable, and that our true policy was to secure as much country as possible for ourselves; and to announce ourselves avowedly as the master of all the powers of India. I abhor making wars, and meddling with other states for the sake of our aggrandisement—but war thrust upon us, or unavoidably entered into, should, if practicable, be turned to profit by the acquisition of new resources, to pay additional forces to defend what we have, and extend our possessions in future unavoidable wars. With these sentiments, I rejoiced at Lord Hastings' decision regarding the Peishwah's territories, and regretting that which he came to respecting the Nagpore country. I cannot concur in Malcolm's apprehensions of extending our direct rule too rapidly. The sooner the better if done justly. Next to making the Nagpore country our own, the system at present in force there seems to me to be best; and I wish that it were permanently established. Next to permanence, if that cannot be, I would have the longest possible period; and its continuance even for three years, as proposed by you, is better than its immediate transfer. When I say, 'proposed by you,' I mean, proposed in despair of obtaining more. I most entirely agree with you in the sentiment, that we should not set bounds to our interference if we interfere at all; and that if we do interfere, it ought to be with good effect. If possible, I would leave all Native States to their own govern-

ment, without interference. But we are always dragged in somehow, and then it is difficult to say what should be done. The worst plan of all, I think, is to keep in a Minister against the will of the Prince, and to support the man without regard to his measures. Yet this is the mode we have generally slidden into; and as it has been adopted by wiser heads than mine, it is probably right, or unavoidable. I would prefer leaving the Minister to the choice of the Prince, and interfering only as to measures; insisting on the exclusion of the man if his measures were incorrigibly bad, but still leaving the choice of a successor to the Prince. I am not sure how this scheme would answer. I do not think that it has ever been attempted. But I would certainly give it a trial if I were at a Court where interference were necessary, and I were not fettered by previous engagements to a particular Minister.

"I think you will say, '*Ohe! jam satis est*'—so I will conclude with a line or two respecting my own present plans. . .*

"Yours most sincerely and affectionately,

"C. T. METCALFE."

There was little at this time in Metcalfe's situation to evoke his intellectual energies—little that demanded an application of the skill of the master-workman. But there was much to be done. For the most part it was detail work of no great importance—the routine business of the Political Secretary's office—with nothing bracing or inspiriting in it.† His days were given up to official drudgery,

* This conclusion is given at p. 491.

† Doubtless, however, there were some compensations in the midst of all this thankless routine work. It must have been, for example, with no common satisfaction that, as the organ of the Supreme Government, he wrote a public letter to his friend Mountstuart Elphinstone, congratulating him on his elevation to the Government of Bombay. The autograph draft of this letter is almost the only document drawn up by Metcalfe during his tenure of office as Political Secretary, which he preserved among his private papers.

and his evenings to society. "Mornings and days," he wrote to a friend at this time, "I have been at work, and as hard as possible; and every night and all night, at least to a late hour, I have been at all sorts of gay parties. I have been raking terribly, and know not when it will stop; for to confess the truth, I find I rather like it. But I hope the hot weather will check it, for though I do not dislike it, I cannot approve what is so contrary to all my notions of what is wholesome for body and mind."

There were, however, occasional diversities of social enjoyment, rising above the ordinary level of Calcutta gaiety, which Charles Metcalfe regarded with more genuine appreciation. There were now and then banquets given by himself or his friends, redolent of pleasant reminiscences of ancient days, when he built up airy castles in the playing-fields of Eton, or laid the foundations of more substantial ones in Lord Wellesley's office. Charles Lushington brought together at his table a goodly assemblage of the old "Howe boys," when the sayings and doings of their old lord and master were pleasantly discussed; and Metcalfe himself gave an Eton dinner whereto all the Etonians at the Presidency were bidden. And well remembered in after days was the joyous festival at which *Floreat Etona* was drunk with all the honors; and Metcalfe's honored friend and correspondent, Dr. Goodall, was toasted in a manner which showed how the good old man was still respected and beloved. Into such festivities as these, Metcalfe entered with becoming geniality, and was sure to be the life of the party.

I have spoken of the airy castles of Metcalfe's early days. He was always a castle-builder. And now the Political Secretary differed not at all from the eager schoolboy in the Eton cloisters, or the "little stormer" in Lord Lake's camp. His position at the Presidency had brought him again into familiar correspondence with his old friend and teacher, John Malcolm, who now wrote to him from Mhow: "I recognise in all your letters the unaltered Charles Metcalfe with whom I used to pace the tent at Muttra and build castles; our expenditure on which was neither subject to the laws of estimate nor the rules of audit." Miles, counted by the hundreds, now lay between them; but they could still build castles together. There was one magnificent edifice which at this time they were intent upon constructing—but it took fifteen years to convert the airy fiction into a substantial fact.

With such dreams of a brilliant future Metcalfe was wont to solace himself amidst the discontents of a dreary present. Before he had been a year in Calcutta, he had grown weary of the place and of the office. There were many reasons for this; but none which it is very easy to explain. His services were greatly appreciated by Lord Hastings. There were seldom any differences between them on points of vital importance. Both in principle and in practice they seemed to agree. The Governor-General was continually commending the executive aptitude of his Secretary; and when he had altered any of Metcalfe's drafts, always apologised or explained in such a manner as to give a complimentary turn to

such assertions of superiority. His undeviating kindness was, indeed, thankfully acknowledged. Metcalfe was not only Political Secretary, he was Private Secretary at the same time; and therefore, though he did not reside in Government House, he was one of the "family." It does not appear that in this capacity any derogatory duties were entailed upon him—that in any sense he was converted into a lacquey. Six years before, Lord Moira had arrived in India with very magnificent ideas of Vice-regal state, and had drawn up a schedule of the various duties of the household, by which the Private Secretary was degraded into a sort of chamberlain, or *maître d'hôtel.* But he had arrived with a "Private Secretary" in his train, appointed under rather peculiar circumstances, who was, perhaps, not ill-suited to the kind of work that had been assigned to him; and a "Principal Private Secretary" was appointed as the Governor-General's confidential assistant in matters of a more public nature. But before Metcalfe's assumption of office, the Governor-General's ideas of Vice-regal proprieties had toned down, and the Household Secretary had returned to England. There was now but one Private Secretary, and his functions were mainly of a public character. The duties as a member of the family were few; and if he were occasionally requested to invite some distinguished stranger to take up his quarters in Government House, or if he were instructed to issue orders about Court Mourning; or if some delegated members of society solicited him to request the honor of the Governor-General's and

Lady Hastings' attendance at a bachelors' ball, or other public entertainment, these were small matters of business which no man of sense would conceive himself to be humiliated by executing. Lord Hastings was an old courtier; and Metcalfe had every reason to be satisfied with the personal courtesy and urbanity of his Lordship. But for all this, he was not contented with his position. The husk may have been pleasant to look upon; but there was something rotten in the kernel.

What it was does not very plainly appear. Perhaps the causes of Metcalfe's discontent may be found partly in the environments of his position, and partly in his own personal character. As a ministerial officer, he may have been sometimes compelled outwardly to participate in arrangements of which he could not inwardly approve. A high-minded, conscientious man may see too much for his peace of mind of the occult machinery of Government—of the working of all its secret springs and hidden wheels and mysterious contrivances. Metcalfe was too near to Government House; or, perhaps, he was not near enough. He had a natural taste for kingship. It pleased him best to be his own master. He had, for many years, been habituated to independent command. At Delhi he had been lord-paramount—without a rival. At Calcutta he was one of many—a minister among ministers. It is not strange, therefore, that he should have found his new situation irksome to him. None of his friends, when they heard of his disap-

pointment, expressed any surprise. Three of the ablest and most distinguished men in India—Malcolm, Elphinstone, and Jenkins—wrote to him that it was just what they expected.

It was whilst in this frame of mind—eager to escape from what seemed to him both the grave of his independence and the grave of his fame—unwilling to drowse, by imperceptible degrees, into a member of Council, and to close his career whilst yet in the heyday of his intelleetual vigor, that the letters of John Malcolm came opportunely to give a new direction to his ambition, and to stimulate his energies by again exciting his hopes. The almost superhuman activity of that great soldier-statesman had found in Central India free scope for exercise; but on this great field of labor he seems to have expended himself in unrequited service. Believing that he was neglected by his employers, he had determined to return to England, either to regain the position which he was said to have lost, or to lay down the wand of office for ever. He desired to see a worthy successor enthroned in his place; and he felt in his inmost heart that there was none so worthy as Metcalfe. His old pupil had written to him that the Secretaryship had become distasteful to him; and now Malcolm wrote with all that genuine earnestness which was so refreshing an ingredient in his character, urging the dissatisfied minister to come to Central India, and not to quit it until the territories committed to his charge had grown into an independent Government:

"I have this moment," he wrote on the 19th of February, 1820, "received your letter of the 30th ultimo. I can enter fully into your feelings, and can only wish, if it is determined to place this situation upon a proper scale (which I deem quite indispensable for the general peace of the country), that you should be my successor. It is a station worthy of your talents and ambition. Talk over the work that has been done and is to be done with Caulfield, who understands the whole scheme; and you will be convinced that there would be more than embarrassment—that there would be danger, in depriving this province of one head to whom all looked, and who was competent to act for Government in cases of emergency. I can have no idea that the nature and extent of my political duties are fully understood. They comprise not merely general control, but in many cases minute interference with every large state and petty chief from Serorissi east to Dungerpore west—from the Satporah Hills to the Mahindra Pass north and south. They include the keeping of the peace, by orders, requests, arbitrations and decisions among the numerous Nabobs, Rajahs, Rogues, and Ryots of this extensive space, who are united in no sentiment but one—a common respect and deference for the representative of the British Government. On him their continuance at peace with each other depends. When I reflect on the elements of which this mass is composed, I can hardly trust the charm by which they are kept in concord; but weaken that, and you have years of confusion. . . . . Had I been near you, the King of Delhi should have been dissuaded from becoming an executive officer and resigning power to jostle for influence. But you acted from high motives, and should not be dissatisfied with yourself. Delhi has had you long enough. It is bad that men of your stamp should in any way stagnate or become too local. . . . . If they offer it (the Central-Indian appointment) on proper terms, accept it; come up in November, and let us be one month together. I may leave you a Governor General's Agent or Commissioner; but depend upon it that ere long you would be a Lieutenant-Governor. These are changes

which will force themselves; and I shall give Adam my sentiments confidentially on this point."

To a man of Charles Metcalfe's temperament there was something very spirit-stirring in such an appeal as this. And it did not come singly to stimulate his ambition. A few days after the receipt of this letter from Malcolm, another came from Mr. Marjoribanks, who had political charge of the districts bordering on the Nerbudda river, urging him to obtain permission of the Government for the immediate resignation of his charge. It was Malcolm's theory that more good was likely to result from the combination than from the division of offices of political control; inasmuch as that the latter necessarily induced the enforcement of different systems of policy, and the prosecution of different modes of procedure. He argued, and with much show of reason on his side, that this seeming want of unity in our councils did much to weaken our influence with the chiefs and people of India; and declared that on that account one man might often do what many would fail to accomplish. Taking this view of the case, he contended that it would be advantageous in the extreme to consolidate all the different Residencies and Agencies in Central and Upper India into one great political charge, eventually to be placed under an officer with the title of Lieutenant-Governor. And he saw in Metcalfe a man well qualified to assume charge of such an office.

This great idea fired Metcalfe's ambition. In the junction of the two extensive tracts of territory over

which Malcolm and Marjoribanks had held political control, he saw the commencement of this consolidation, which was to lead to such great results. So he determined at once to take counsel with John Adam on this momentous subject. Adam entered at once into the idea; admitted the advantages of the plan; and on the following day, having in the mean while received from Malcolm himself a sketch of his great project, he wrote to Metcalfe, saying:

"A part of the enclosed is so much to the purpose of our conversation yesterday, that I must ask you to read it. Further reflection confirms my conviction of the advantage of the plan we talked of yesterday, and this letter of Malcolm's would serve as a ground for making the proposition to Lord Hastings at the proper time. I am satisfied that it ought to be done, independently of Marjoribanks' final decision, though if his charge could be combined with the other, it would be more worthy of your powers, and more advantageous to the public interests. I cannot wonder at your preferring such a situation to your present one, even if the latter had better answered your expectations."

To have found in John Adam a cordial auxiliary was a great point gained. The opinion of such a man fortified Metcalfe in his resolution to address Lord Hastings on the subject. But when he sat down to write a letter to the Governor-General—a letter which was, in effect, a solicitation to be relieved from the privileged situation of his Lordship's confidential adviser—he felt the difficulty and delicacy of the task. The object, however, was a great one; and the thought of it sustained him to the end. At the foot of John Adam's letter he had written

roughly in pencil—"*The union of Malcolm's charge and Marjoribanks' would be grand indeed; and make me King of the East and the West!*" And now this kingship in prospect carried him through all the delicate distresses of the following letter:*

MR. METCALFE TO LORD HASTINGS.

"My Lord,—I am not sure that your Lordship will think me in my right senses in what I am about to submit; but I am, nevertheless, tempted to proceed, by a well-founded assurance that it will meet with indulgent consideration.

"The apparent determination of Mr. Marjoribanks not to be induced by any consideration to retain his situation, and the intention of Sir John Malcolm to return to England at the end of the year, seem to leave unoccupied an important field of public service.

"The union of the duties of these situations would obviate in a great degree the objection, on the score of expense, that might otherwise exist against the permanent continuance of Sir John Malcolm's political office, which is stated by him to be desirable.

"That union would, at the same time, hold forth the prospect of a noble station, combining high political and administrative functions.

"And the view which I take of the importance of such an office, if it were instituted, makes me ambitious to fill it, if such an arrangement should meet with your Lordship's approbation.

"Your Lordship will at one glance determine whether or not this general notion is likely to have your sanction. If it be, I can hereafter trouble your Lordship with details, which it would be a waste of time to intrude upon you at present.

"Your Lordship will, perhaps, be surprised that, after re-

* I have transcribed the letter from a rough pencil draft in Metcalfe's handwriting, a little confused as respects the collocation of the paragraphs. It is without date in the original, but it was written at the beginning of April, 1820.

linquishing such a situation as the Residency of Delhi for the office which I have now the honor to hold, I should think of quitting the latter for any other situation whatever.

"When I reflect on the respectability, emoluments, luxury, comforts, and presumed prospects of my present situation—on the honor of holding a place so near your Lordship's person, combined with the enjoyment of continual intercourse with your Lordship, and on the happiness conferred by your invariable kindness, I cannot satisfy myself that I act wisely in seeking to be deprived of so many advantages in order to undertake arduous duties of fearful responsibility.

"It is very possible, I think, that if your Lordship should indulge my wishes, I may hereafter repent of them; but at present I am under the influence of the following considerations:

"After a sufficient experience, I feel that the duties of the Secretary's office are not so congenial to me as those which I have heretofore performed. I see reasons to doubt my qualifications for this line of service. I think that many persons might be found who would fill the office more efficiently; and I fancy that I could serve your Lordship better in a situation such as I have described, nearly resembling that which I formerly held.

"If the Residency at Delhi on its former footing were vacant, the strong local attachments which I have at that place would induce me to entreat your Lordship to restore me to my former office. But that ground is occupied; and neither would your Lordship agree to my return were I to make the proposition; nor would I wish it, or willingly consent to it, at the expense of my friend Sir David Ochterlony.

"The situation which I have suggested would have duties similar in nature to those of the Residency of Delhi—nearly as extensive, if not more so; and, perhaps from the circumstances of the present moment, more important.

"It may appear that the duties at which I aim are too extensive, and that those of Sir John Malcolm's office alone

would be ample for any one man to undertake. In anticipation of this possible objection, I beg leave to remark, that if Sir John Malcolm's situation alone were to be provided for, perhaps a more economical arrangement than that herein proposed might be devised by transferring his duties to the Resident at Indore, and fixing a subordinate agent at Holkar's Court; that the discharge of the territorial duties of Mr. Marjoribanks' office is to me a fascinating part of the plan which I have suggested; and that, admitting the principle that my duties should be those of general control and management, and that I should not be loaded with detail, I should not think the united charge of the two offices beyond the power of an ordinary man, with the able aid which already exists in all parts of that field.

"If your Lordship should doubt the expediency of retaining Sir John Malcolm's political office, or should wish to confer it on any other person, or should desire still to persuade Mr. Marjoribanks to resume his station on the Nerbudda, or should have any other arrangement in contemplation for that territory, I hope that your Lordship will not allow my wishes to interfere with your intentions. As above observed, I am too proud of my present situation to seek any arrangement accompanied by the uncomfortable consciousness of having intruded myself on your Lordship's indulgence.

"I beg your Lordship not to consider what I have submitted as a formal application, but rather as a representation of what is floating in my mind, communicated with unreserved confidence, inspired by your Lordship's kindness. Distrusting my own judgment, I have communicated on the subject with Mr. Adam, who seems to think the scheme very feasible and recommendable.

"If my notion should meet generally with your Lordship's approbation, it would not necessarily press for immediate decision. As far as my own wishes and convenience would be concerned, I should prefer the postponement of the arrangement to the proper time for relieving Sir John Malcolm—I presume about November, when I could proceed by dawk to the Saugor and Nerbudda territories, and onward to Mhow.

The duties of the Saugor and Nerbudda territories might intermediately be carried on by Mr. Molony and Mr. Maddock, in correspondence with Government; and, in this interval, all the arrangements for the future management of those districts respectively under my general control might be matured and established. But with regard to the time of my departure, as well as upon every other point, I should, of course, be ready to obey with alacrity your Lordship's commands.

"Your Lordship will perceive that I have considered only myself in this proposition; but I trust that you will not misapprehend my motives for doing so. Had I the vanity to suppose that your Lordship would have any preference either for retaining me here, or employing me elsewhere, I should consider myself bound by every duty to suppress my own inclinations and think only of your Lordship's pleasure; but believing that your Lordship will not have any bias on the subject, except what may arise on the one hand from your disposition to do an act of kindness, or on the other from doubts of the public utility of forming such a situation, and of my competency to fill it, I have thought myself at liberty to submit my ideas with reference to myself alone.

"My simple proposition has led me to trouble your Lordship with a tedious explanation; and yet I must conclude, still under the fear that I have not adequately explained my feelings —especially those of respectful attachment and gratitude which your Lordship's undeviating kindness has inspired, and which must ever bind me to your Lordship—lest I should encroach too much on your Lordship's time.

"I have the honor to be,

"Your Lordship's obedient servant,

"C. T. METCALFE."

On the 5th of April, Lord Hastings, writing to Metcalfe, primarily on another topic, said: "We will discuss the subject of your private letter when we meet. But I would not delay saying, that I did

not startle at it." The project, indeed, was favorably received by the Governor-General, and before the end of the month Metcalfe wrote to his friend Richard Jenkins, saying it was designed that the scheme should take effect; and asking what was the best way of getting to Mhow in November or December?* But, little more than two months afterwards, he wrote again to the same correspondent, saying: "I have given up the idea of succeeding Malcolm and erecting my standard on the Nerbudda, in order to go to another field, not so extensive, but more compact and more comfortable, and offering a prospect of greater leisure. It is a bad sign, I fear, that for these reasons I think it preferable. I look upon it as a sort of retirement for the rest of my service in India. I have seen enough of the Secretaryship to know that the respectability and satisfaction of those stations depend upon circumstances beyond one's own control; and though, under some circumstances, I should prefer my present situation to any other, I shall quit it without any desire of ever returning to it, and without much wish of ever having a seat in Council,—were it not for the name of the thing, I might say without *any* wish. This state of feeling I have gained by coming to Calcutta; and it

* "I have disclosed," wrote Metcalfe, "the scheme I communicated to you to Lord Hastings, and it is at present designed that it shall take effect. If so, the Nerbudda territories will come under me—a bad substitute, I fear, for you; but we shall act, I trust, on the same principles. What will be the best way of getting speedily to Mhow in November or December? Though I am not to see you so soon as I hoped, we shall meet, I trust, at Nagpore before the end of the year. At least, I shall embrace the first opportunity of renewing old days with you. What time would it take to get to Nagpore, and thence to Mhow?"—[*Charles Metcalfe to Richard Jenkins, April 28th*, 1820.]

is fortunate that it is so, for I have no chance whatever of a seat in Council at any time."*

The other field—more compact—more comfortable—offering prospect of greater leisure—was the field of Hyderabad in the Deccan. The Residency was then occupied by Mr. Henry Russell. In the month of April that gentleman had written to Metcalfe that he purposed to remain at Hyderabad until the commencement of the following year, and that he earnestly hoped his correspondent would be his successor. The two gentlemen were on terms of intimate friendship and familiarity. They were connected, indeed, by marriage. Mr. Russell was a first cousin of Theophilus Metcalfe's wife. The thought of handing over his office to such a man as Charles Metcalfe afforded him, both upon public and on private grounds, the liveliest satisfaction; and even when such a transfer seemed to be remote, he spoke in glowing terms of the situation. "I always thought," he said, "that you would regret the change from Delhi to Calcutta. It can hardly be long before you are placed in Council; but if this should not be the case, and you should continue desirous of returning to your own line, I should be delighted to deliver

* *MS. Correspondence, July* 5, 1820.—He had written, a few days before, to the same effect to Malcolm, who wrote in reply: "The only part of your letter of the 29th ultimo that I did not like, was that the plan of your succeeding me was given up. If it has been abandoned in consequence of an arrangement that is better for you, I shall rejoice on your account, but not for Malwa, because for all that good work of which I think I have laid the foundation you were precisely the successor I wished, and the man under whom my Tucavees, Potails, Zemindars, Thakoors, Newabs, Rajahs, and Maharajahs would have flourished; but I shall hope the station will yet tempt you, and depend upon my word it will become great in your hands, and work its way, in spite of all routine-mongers, to that consequence it must have before its duties can be efficiently and satisfactorily performed."—[*John Malcolm to Charles Metcalfe, July* 22, 1822.]

this Residency into your hands. You will find an excellent house completely furnished; a beautiful country; one of the finest climates in India, and, when the business which now presses has been disposed of, abundance of leisure to follow your personal pursuits. My original intention was to go home at the end of this year, having made a sort of promise to my father to be with him by the time he is seventy, which he will be in August twelvemonth. These measures of reform will detain me; but by the end of next year matters will be so completely set agoing in their new train, that I shall certainly go then."

But at this time the Great Central-Indian project held possession of Metcalfe's mind. In reply to Henry Russell's letter, he communicated an outline of the plan. Still the Hyderabad Resident did not despair of inducing Metcalfe to become his successor. He had an insuperable array of arguments to adduce in favor of the appointment in the Deccan. He was able, too, to announce that his reformatory measures had been so far initiated, that he might with confidence quit his office at the end of the current year. But there was one condition necessary to this. It was essential that he should be able to rely on the succession of one sure to enter into his views and advance his plans of reform. The letter was an enticing and a convincing one. On more accounts than one, it calls for insertion:

"Hyderabad, May 26, 1820.

"My dear Metcalfe,—The project mentioned in your letter of the 10th inst. has made an alteration in my views; or

rather it has done away the alteration I had before made in them, and restored them to what they originally were. Until lately, my plan always was to go home at the end of this year; and nothing could have induced me to think of staying longer but the wish of not only carrying the reform of the Nizam's affairs into complete effect, but also of placing it on so firm a footing as to prevent a clumsy successor from injuring the work, or a hostile or illiberal one from depriving me, after I am gone, of that share of credit to which I may be justly entitled. Now everything that experience and local knowledge enable me to do better than another person will have been done by the end of this year. The foundation has already been substantially laid. The Minister knows as distinctly as I do what is to be done, and by what means it must be accomplished. The reduction of establishments has been arranged, and is in progress; our interference and the objects and effects of it are known and felt throughout the country; and by the end of the revenue year, in September, all the Talookdars will have been chosen and appointed, and the necessary new engagements framed and executed between them and the Government. In short, the whole of the new system has been discussed and matured, and put in action. In the course of the year, therefore, my first wish will have been accomplished; and the second will be effectually secured, if, at the end of it, I can deliver the Residency into such hands as yours. In point of magnitude, your situation in Malwa will certainly be superior to this Residency; but you may do as much real good, and acquire as much real importance, here as you could do there. The office now proposed for you will be made great by adding many things together; at Hyderabad it will be compact and considerable in itself, and will afford, for several years to come, an ample field for the exertions of a man of talents and benevolence. As to personal convenience, there can be no comparison. In Malwa you will have no time to yourself, and you will either be wandering about the country, which is always irksome when it is perpetual, or you will have

to build and furnish a house, at the expense of certainly not less than a lakh of rupees, out of your private fortune. At Hyderabad, after the first six months, when you have looked thoroughly into everything, you will find, compared with what you have been accustomed to, little to give you trouble: at least half your time will be at your own disposal; and you will step at once, without care or expense, into a house completely furnished, and provided with every accommodation. Upon the point of honor, surely you need give yourself no concern. Colonel Wm. Kirkpatrick was appointed from your present office to the Residency at Poona; and even if there were no precedent of that kind, you might be content to measure with Sancho's rule—wherever you sit will be the head of the table. You say yourself that you think you should prefer Hyderabad to Malwa, if you had your choice of the two at the same time. My principal fear, therefore, is lest you should suppose that, by coming into this arrangement now, you would be consulting your own inclinations in the smallest degree at my expense. But a man may be trusted to judge for his own happiness. Be assured that there is quite as much of selfishness in my proposal as you could possibly desire. No galley-slave ever laid down his oar with greater joy than I shall feel at laying down this Residency, whenever I can do so with justice to myself, and with a conviction that I leave the public interests in the hands of an able and upright successor. As it was, it was a sacrifice, and a great one too, for me to resolve on staying so long; and I know that if you succeed Malcolm this year, you will be engaging in plans and measures which will effectually prevent your coming to Hyderabad hereafter. If, therefore, you can be prevailed upon to think the arrangement agreeable to yourself, and do not foresee any serious obstacle in the way of its accomplishment, you can at once intimate to Lord Hastings my wish to retire, and propose to him to nominate you my successor. As I should like to leave Hyderabad in November, so as to be ready to embark at Madras, or Bombay, by the first ships that sail after Christmas,

it is desirable that no time should be lost in doing whatever you may be resolved upon. My end would of course be defeated unless you were to secure the appointment for yourself at the same time that you announce my intention of vacating it. Indeed, I would not resign after all, if I found that any other person was intended for my place.

"Believe me ever, my dear Metcalfe,

"Most sincerely yours,

"H. RUSSELL."

This letter had the desired effect. The Great Central-Indian kingship had begun by this time to appear before Metcalfe as something vague and illusory. The charmings of John Malcolm were already losing their power over his mind. Perhaps Lord Hastings had begun to relax in the adhesion which he had given in to the scheme of consolidating the Malwa and Nerbudda agencies. There may have been other circumstances tending to shake his faith in the advantages or the practicability of the plan which had once laid so strongly hold of his mind. Or Henry Russell's letter may have done the work, without aid from any other quarter. Metcalfe, it has been seen, declared that the promise of greater leisure was irresistibly attractive. He said it was "a bad sign" that such considerations should have had so much weight with him. But in this he was mistaken.* Good or bad, he accepted Russell's offer;

* The great want of our European functionaries in India is want of leisure. The great impediment to their efficiency is, that they have too much to do. Many first-rate men, with the power and with the inclination to initiate and to carry out great schemes of amelioration, which would confer incalculable benefit on the people, are necessitated to expend themselves in the detail-work of mere routine. Metcalfe was often painfully conscious of this. What an Indian functionary calls leisure is exemption from a stringent necessity to perform a certain amount of work within a

and the Hyderabad Resident wrote eagerly to him, on the 4th of July: "I am delighted to find by your letter that my arguments have prevailed with you. You will have made me the happiest man out of India; and I shall be disappointed if, at Hyderabad, you are not one of the happiest men in it. I shall now quit my station without a wish ungratified. It is very desirable that I should deliver the Residency immediately into your hands. . . . . If anything should unfortunately occur to prevent your coming here, the very object of my retiring would be defeated; and much as I should lament the necessity, I should nevertheless feel myself compelled to remain until I had consolidated the reform, even at the sacrifice of all the projects of happiness which your concurrence in my proposal has enabled me to entertain."

The Hyderabad Resident, however, was not to be disappointed. Metcalfe had made up his mind to proceed to the Court of the Nizam; and the proposed arrangement was at once sanctioned by Government. As the cold season approached, the Political Secretary began to make his arrangements for the transfer of his office to Mr. Swinton, who was to succeed him; and by the beginning of November everything was in readiness for Metcalfe's departure. He had many friends in Calcutta, who deeply lamented his going; and now that he was about to leave them, they desired to evince their sense of his

certain space of time, and to expend all the available hours of the day in the current duties of his office. Metcalfe's desired leisure was leisure to do good—not leisure to play at billiards, or to hunt hogs.

worth, both as an officer of the Government and a member of society, by giving him a public entertainment; but the notoriety of such a proceeding had no attraction for him, and he desired that the manifestation of the kind feelings of his friends should assume a more private character. A dinner, however, was given to him by a large party of his friends, and it was at least sufficiently public to form a topic of commendatory discourse in the public journals of the day.

He parted from Lord Hastings with expressions of earnest good-will on either side. "And now, my dear Sir, for yourself," wrote the Governor-General to him, after touching on matters of public concern, "let me assure you that I have been duly sensible of your kind and cordial attachment; and that it is with earnest prayers for your welfare that I wish you all possible prosperity and comfort. We shall not meet again in India, and the chances for it in Europe must, considering my age, be small; but I shall rejoice in hearing from you, and you will believe that I remain yours faithfully, HASTINGS."

APPENDIX TO VOL. I.

[THE following lines were written in 1833 by Sir Charles Metcalfe, then a member of Council, to a very dear friend, whom he had long endeavored, in plain prose, to wean from an unhappy attachment. Though they belong in order of date to the second volume, I insert them here with reference to a passage in the first chapter of the work, the only chapter as it is in which there is any reference to Charles Metcalfe as a poet. It is principally, however, as an illustration of the earnestness of his friendship, the deep interest which he took in the moral well-being of all to whom he was attached, that I have inserted the poem.]

FROM AN ATTACHED FRIEND.

If anxious friendship's counsel could avail
  To save thee from the snares of guilty love,
How fondly would I labor to prevail,
  How earnest pray for aid from Him above,

Who in a voice of thunder has ordain'd
  "Man, thou shalt not commit adultery;
Thy neighbour's wife by thee shall be unstain'd;
  From thy foul covetousness shall be free."

Surely, dear friend, thou wouldst not deem it light
  To trample God's Commandment in the dust?
To sell thy soul to vicious appetite,
  And forfeit Heaven by unbridled lust?

And though God's mercy may all sins forgive,
  When deep remorse has purified the heart,
Still in forbidden sinfulness to live,
  And tempt God's wrath, is not the wise man's part.

Think even of the earthly ills which wait
  On the dark paths of the adult'rous way :
Think of a bloody and untimely fate,
  Thyself a lifeless corpse in shameful fray ;

Or else a murderer, reeking from the death
  Of him whose marriage-couch thou hast defil'd ;
Gasping in hangman's noose thy latest breath,
  A dangling carcase, hiss'd at and revil'd ;

Or if such thoughts have not the pow'r to move,
  Because such horrors may uncommon be,
Think of the surer pains of lawless love,
  Disgrace and self-reproach and misery.

Think of the wretched woman's blasted name,
  Her irretrievable and headlong fall ;
Think of her children's everlasting shame,
  Whose curses on thee will thy heart appal.

Wilt thou towards the outcast wanton yearn,
  And cherish her and share her sorry lot ?
Or wilt thou, satiate with possession, spurn,
  And loathing leave her desolate to rot ?

Thinkst thou the husband and the world to cheat,
  Detection baffled, and the crime conceal'd
By artifices, treach'ry, and deceit,
  If to such practices thy soul can yield ?

Oh, trust not to a Hope so mean and vain ;
  As sure as fate detection guilt will find ;
Nor e'en concealment can remorse restrain,
  Nor God's all-seeing eye of lightning blind.

Think that a mother's spirit hovers near,
  Charg'd to attend thy steps in woe or joy,
And shield thy progress in this world's career,
  The guardian angel of her darling boy.

Do not the deed that her pure soul must scare,
  And drive her sainted spirit far away,
Leaving thee destitute of Heaven's care,
  Thenceforth to Satan's wiles a helpless prey.

But if it be, as fain I would it were,
  That crime is not the object of thy game,
Surely 'tis madness punishment to bear,
  If in thy conscience thou art free from blame.

If thou hast not adult'ry's guilty joys,
  Why court the adult'rer's blazing infamy?
Why seek a name that fair repute destroys?
  Why seem the man of sin thou wouldst not be?

Why run a course that must the good offend,
  And make them shun thee as a pois'nous bane—
A course thy warmest friends cannot defend,
  Such as for life thy character will stain?

I ask thee not to give up woman's smiles,
  Enjoy'd in innocence and open day;
They cheer man's heart, and, free from wanton wiles,
  Improve his nature, and his cares allay.

But by-way meetings, roamings in the dark,
  Clandestine intercourse that shuns the light,
These are the things that evil purpose mark,
  And man's and woman's reputation blight.

Throw not thyself into temptation's net,
  For man is weak, the tempter's power strong;
And woman is the surest bait that yet
  Satan has used to lure mankind to wrong.

Is life insipid without woman's love?
  Then make some free and honest heart thine own:
The truest joys of woman's love to prove
  Let Hymen's wreath a pure affection crown.

Then give thyself to love without restraint,
  But seek not love where, if it should be won,
It must with sinfulness the woman taint,
  And make thee author of the mischief done.

'Tis not alone in foul and filthy act
  That there is sinfulness; too oft we find
A body unpolluted and intact
  Bearing a guilty and polluted mind.

The feelings, warp'd from their own proper course
  Of duteous love, and sent abroad to roam,
Must fill the heart with sin, and prove the source
  Of endless mis'ry in a hapless home.

Lend not thyself to perpetrate such ill,
  And trust not to the vain, delusive thought,
That if thou dost not do it, others will,
  And therefore that the ill is small, or nought.

Whatever others do, do thou the right,
  Steadfast in virtue's straight and open way:
Though others do the deeds that need the night,
  Do thou the deeds that shine in brightest day.

Nature has given thee her choicest grace,
  The power to gain good-will, and captivate
The hearts of fellow runners in life's race:
  The rest must on thy own behaviour wait.

To fasten prepossession by the tie
  Of strong esteem and confident respect,
Must be the fruit of virtuous energy
  And a firm mind with probity erect.

Gen'rous and brave thou art, and kind and good:
  Then let not levity deform the work
Which Nature framed in her most lib'ral mood:
  Let not the serpent in the roses lurk.

Pardon the boldness with which counsel flows
  From one who loves thee with a parent's zeal,
Whose heart with fondness clings to thee, and glows
  With warm and anxious interest for thy weal.

Who would that thou shouldst ever honor'd be;
  From every spot, from every blemish clear'd;
The pride and boast of all attach'd to thee;
  In youth applauded, and in age rever'd.

Lo! age is coming, youth will quickly flee,
  With all its pleasant gracefulness and joy:
May'st thou look back on it with conscience free
  From the debasement of guilt's foul alloy.

Man's joys, love, learning, genius, glory, power,
  Are trifles all compared with rectitude,
Which cheers the soul in life's departing hour,
  And wafts it to Divine beatitude.

If, by the aid of unpretending rhyme,
  I lead thee to reflect that woe and shame
Will follow pleasure that allures to crime
  Or to discredit, I shall gain my aim.

If I have wearied by my prosing strain—
  In word or thought if my poor lines offend,
Thy kind heart tells me thou wilt not complain
  Of fullest freedom from a faithful friend.

C. T. M.

Allipore, March 25, 1833.

II.—(Page 139.)

LORD HOWE'S BOYS.

[I have promised at page 139 some further information relative to the origin and institution of the society of "Howe Boys" in Calcutta; but, from the few surviving members of it, I have been able to gain little more than the bare assurance of the fact of its existence. Such suggestions as I have elicited are too vague and uncertain and irreconcileable, not only with each other but with ascertained fact, to encourage me to put the stamp of history upon them. After the lapse of half a century, this, in the absence of written memorials, was too likely to be the case. I believe that the term "Lord Howe's Boys" is well understood in the navy, and that it indicates the possession of manly attributes of all kinds.]

A.—(Page 197.)

MISSION TO HOLKAR'S CAMP.

TO HIS EXCELLENCY THE RIGHT HON. LORD LAKE, &c. &c. &c.

Camp, three miles N.W. from Umritsur, January 10, 1806.

My Lord,—I have the honor to report the proceedings of the Mission to the camp of Jeswunt Rao Holkar, which your Lordship was pleased to commit to my charge.

Having encamped on the night of the 8th instant at Loodhiana, we yesterday morning marched, accompanied by the Wakeel Balaram Seth, to the vicinity of Holkar's camp. Deewan Gunput Rao, Bukhya Hooshaba, and Gholam Khan, with a large retinue, were sent to meet the Mission, and conducted us to the place appointed for our encampment. A salute of fifty guns and repeated discharges of small arms announced our arrival, and a general rejoicing took place throughout the Mahratta army. I am informed that although Holkar had circulated the intelligence of the establishment of amity with the British Government, his followers had not given credit to it, and considered the report to be an expedient adopted with the intention of easing their minds from the state of depression and despair into which they had been

cast by repeated defeat, distress, and disaster. The arrival of a friendly mission from your Lordship confirmed the rumor of peace, and caused most manifest and universal joy.

It was my wish, in conformity to your Lordship's commands, to visit the chief yesterday, but the importance which was attached by the Durbar to the occasion, and the arrangements for the ceremony, produced a delay. The Brahmins having consulted, declared this day to be propitious.

Gunput Rao and Chimna Bhao having been sent this morning to conduct us, I proceeded, accompanied by Mr. Macaulay and the officers of the escort, to make the visit.

The procession moved slowly on in order to give time for the arrival of the moment which had been decided to be the most auspicious for the interview. Holkar was attended by all the chiefs and officers of his army, and nothing was omitted which could tend to make the reception of the Mission most formal and honorable.

After the usual salutations, I delivered your Lordship's letter and compliments on the establishment of peace. Both were received by Holkar with particular respect. When I expressed, on the part of your Lordship, a hope that the friendship which was happily founded would be strengthened and improved, the chief and his principal officers exclaimed with one accord, and with evident pleasure, that by the blessing of God it would increase daily. A conversation ensued, which lasted for some time, on the present happy state of affairs, in the course of which Holkar and his Ministers made many professions of sincerity, and expressed the highest satisfaction. On my part, I met their professions with the declaration of perfect belief, and was reciprocal in expressions of happiness. I was highly gratified to observe the extraordinary joy which was visible in the countenance and conduct of the chiefs and the whole Durbar.

I afterwards proeeeded to observe, that your Lordship marched yesterday from the banks of the Beeah towards the Honorable Company's territories, and inquired when it was the intention of Holkar to march; and on the appearance of some hesitation, I added, that your Lordship had been led by the declaration of the wakeels to expect that he would march immediately, and quit the country of the Sikhs; and remarked, that his performance of the promises of his agents would lead to the establishment of perfect confidence in your Lordship's mind, and would afford the most satisfactory proof to your

Lordship, to the Honorable the Governor-General, and to all Hindostan, of his sincerity in the conclusion of amicable engagements with the British Government. Some conversation followed between Jeswunt Rao Holkar, Bhao Bhasker, and me on this subject, in the course of which Holkar and his Minister assured me they had no desire whatever to remain in the country of the Sikhs; that there should be no occasion to doubt their sincerity, and that the march was only delayed for one or two days, in order that it might be made at a propitious time, and that some necessary arrangements might be completed. I continued to urge the necessity of an immediate return to Hindostan, and Holkar finally promised to move on the 13th.

He then made several requests in behalf of persons who, being in the power of the British Government, have aided Holkar against it, which he desired me to communicate to your Lordship. The details of these I shall hereafter have the honor of representing. I replied, that I would communicate his requests to your Lordship. I added, that your Lordship was anxious to improve the good understanding which now exists, and that doubtless, when time had given strength and security to the friendship—of which the foundations were established—the British Government would be forward to meet all his wishes. I did not consider myself authorised to give any positive encouragements from which Holkar might expect the accomplishment of the particular requests which he mentioned. A subsequent conversation with the Wakeel Balaram has convinced me that the chief introduced the subject at the Durbar for the gratification of the persons interested, but that he is not anxious regarding it; and among others, he states that Meer Khan is not yet satisfied with the portion of country which Holkar has assigned to him.

After some general conversation, and the delivery of presents to me and the other gentlemen of the Mission, we rose to depart. On taking leave, Holkar addressed himself to me, and in a manner marked by an appearance of uncommon earnestness, assured me that he would adhere to the word which he had given, and would render such services to the Honorable Company as should entitle him to its regard and approbation.

Since my return to our camp, Balaram has been sent to me. He has alleged several causes for the delay which has happened

in the march of the Mahratta army. He, however, assures me that the army will march ten kas on the 13th, and that it will make no halt before it reaches the Sutlej. Its route does not seem to be settled.

On a review of the whole behaviour of Jeswunt Rao Holkar towards us, it appears to me to mark strongly his high respect for your Lordship, his just sense of the act of confidence and friendship conferred in a mission of English gentlemen to his camp, and his most sincere happiness at the establishment of amicable relations with the British Government. The gladness which was visible in him and his chiefs was not confined to the Durbar; it was manifest in every part of his camp; and the crowds of his followers which thronged the way on our procession to the visit, and our return, testified, in the most lively manner, unbounded joy.

We shall march to-morrow towards your Lordship's army.

I hope that I may be allowed to express the thankfulness which I feel towards Mr. Macaulay and Lieutenants Short and Laud for their obliging and cordial assistance in the progress of this Mission.

I have the honor to be, with profound respect,
My Lord,
Your Lordship's most obedient, humble servant,
C. T. METCALFE.

III.—(Page 472.)

RESIDENCY ALLOWANCES.

[*From a Minute by Sir Charles Metcalfe, written in* 1830.]

"The allowance to Residents, in common parlance misnamed 'table allowance,' was an allowance, not for table alone, but nominally for 'table, attendants, camp equipage, &c.,' and in reality for every expense of a domestic nature that was proper for the support of the Resident's station. The expenditure of this allowance was left entirely to the Resident's discretion; but every honorable man knew that if he did not expend it for the purposes for which it was granted—that is, if he made any savings from it for his own gain—he would be guilty of a shameful fraud. When, therefore, I am asked whether I invariably and sacredly expended that allowance every month, I should be greatly ashamed of myself if I could not answer

the question in the affirmative. I expended the whole of the public allowance for the purposes for which it was granted. I might say more, but the sole object of these remarks being to give an unqualified contradiction to an insinuation against me, it is not necessary to pursue the subject."

IV.—(Page 472.)

THE DELHI SYSTEM.

[*From a Minute written by Sir Charles Metcalfe in* 1830.]

"Completeness of control and unity of authority were remarkable parts of the Delhi system of administration, as distinguished from that which prevailed in other provinces. One European officer in each district, at the time in question, had entire control over the subordinate native officers in every branch of administration. One superior European officer had entire control over all the superintendents of districts; his control extended to every part of their duties. When the authority of a Board was introduced, the only change that took place in the system of local management was the transfer of control from one to several; the district authorities remained as before. . . .

"It is far from accurate to assert that the Delhi territory is governed without laws. It might more correctly be said to be governed by the same laws which prevail in the provinces subject to the Bengal regulations; for, although these have not been bodily introduced, their spirit has guided the administration, generally, of the Delhi territory; there are local rules besides. The existing institutions were first established by Mr. Seton, a disciple of the regulations. There are generally the same laws in civil and criminal judicature as in the other provinces. The practice of the courts is assimilated. Whatever improvements take place in the other provinces, are naturally adopted in the Delhi territory. It has the benefit of every good regulation, with the advantage of not being subject to those which have been found injurious elsewhere, or which might not be locally suitable. The presence of the King and royal family, and of chiefs possessing sovereign power in their separate territories, but residing much at Delhi, as the head-quarters of political supremacy in that quarter, as well as of many other chiefs, formerly Surdars of the Mahratta armies,

settled in Jageers, in the Delhi territory, and of numerous diplomatic agents from native states, seems originally to have pointed out the inexpediency of a literal and inconsiderate enforcement of the Bengal regulations; but so mueh of the spirit and practice of these laws has from the beginning, and from time to time been introduced into the Delhi administration, that probably the addition of what remains would only produee deterioration. Were it not for this apprehension, there would be no great ehange if the regulations were formally established in the Delhi territory, so modified as not to affect those who ought not to be subjected to their direct operation. . . . .

" With respect to the control exereised by Government, as well as with respect to the introduction of laws, the condition of the Delhi territory has been progressive and not stationary. At first, as in other newly acquired countries having peeuliarities to deal with and difficulties to overcome, much was entrusted to the local authority. By degrees, the control of Government has become more minute, and the details of management have been more and more approximated to those which prevail elsewhere; whether, in the latter case, with real advantage or disadvantage, it would unnecessarily open a wide field of discussion were I now to inquire. . . . .

" At first, when the revenues were small, not much more than a tenth of what they are now, and when the territory was occupied chiefly by dependent Jageerdars, the administration was exclusively in the hands of the Resident, and the assistants under him had only such power as he chose to entrust to them, subject to such eontrol as he thought it expedient to exercise. The system gave him absolute control, and he was exclusively responsible to Government for the proper management of the territory. The assistants were then necessarily young men, because being only assistants to the Resident, their salaries were too small to tempt older servants to seek the same employment. This may be said to have been the case until 1819, with this difference, that some of the assistants remained long enough to cease to be young; and the allowances of the first, augmented by a commission on Customs, had beeome eonsiderable, owing to increase in that branch of revenue. In 1819, a new arrangement took place. The territory was divided into districts, a principal assistant was put in charge of each district, and a civil commissioner appointed to superintend them. From this time the situation of the assistants in respect to salary has improved, and it is no longer necessary

to appoint young men. It is now on that footing that officers of the same standing, with those who are usually judges or collectors, would naturally be selected. Their powers are, nevertheless, entirely under the control of the commissioner over them; and if they have any power in any degree independent of such control, it has been produced by the progress made in approximating the Delhi system of management to that which prevails in the provinces subject to the Bengal regulations.

"In contending that the employment of young men is no necessary part of the Delhi system, I wish to guard against the impression that I am opposed to the employment of young men. Under control, they may be employed with advantage in any situation. There is a zeal, an energy, an activity of virtue in young men which often more than compensates for mere age, and even experience, too often accompanied by apathy, lethargy, and inertness, the consequences of disease, caused by a climate, the fiery ordeal of which few constitutions can stand unimpaired for a number of years. In rejecting the services of men when young, in situations in which they can be efficiently controlled, we may lose the best aid that they can ever bring to the public interests. I take it to be an error in the regulation-system of administration, that young men obtain prescribed powers in which they are not sufficiently controlled, and an advantage of what once was the Delhi system that the control is thoroughly absolute and unquestionable."

V.—(Page 472.)

ALLEGED CORRUPTION OF METCALFE'S SERVANTS.

[The following extracts from a minute written by Sir Charles Metcalfe, in November, 1829, contain a narrative of all the circumstances connected with the alleged corruption of his "Coachman," Khoda Buksh, and his "Moonshee," Hufoozoodeen, at Delhi. It was alleged that the former, who was *not* Metcalfe's coachman, had made a lakh of rupees by selling the cast horses and old carriages of his master, on the occasion of Metcalfe's departure from Delhi; and that the latter had for many years been enriching himself by taking bribes from the natives —in both cases, under the pretext that some advantage was to be derived by the Resident, and reciprocated in favor of the donor.

To these statements I have appended, taken from the same minute, the case of Peer Alee, the "Khitmudgar," who accompanied him to Hyderabad, and was also said to have made a large fortune by corrupt practices. These histories are on many accounts interesting and suggestive; but I give them here, principally because the circumstances were somewhat notorious at the time, and I should not like it to appear that I considered them subjects to be avoided. In all the three cases Metcalfe's conduct was irreproachable. But he truly said, that he would be a bold man who, after so long a connexion with Native Courts, would venture to say that none of his servants had ever taken bribes. The Moonshee, Hufoozoodeen, is the man of whom mention is made in the earlier chapters of this Memoir.]

THE CASE OF KHODA BUKSH.

"Khoda Buksh Beg was the son of a respectable old soldier, who commanded a body of 100 horse attached to the Residency, and used partly in the police of the country, and partly as the Resident's body-guard. The father being worn out by age, the son, as his lieutenant, was the efficient commandant, and as such was in constant attendance on the Resident. I had known him in that capacity for twelve years, during the last seven of which he was in almost daily attendance on me, and accompanied me in my morning and evening exercise, as well as on all occasions of out-of-door state and ceremony. During the whole of my acquaintance with him I had no reason to think otherwise than well of him, until the circumstanees about to be related.

"When I was quitting Delhi in the end of 1818, I found myself encumbered with a large stud, consisting in great part of a breeding stud, with which I had amused myself for several years without disposing of the produce. Having accounts to settle, I was desirous of selling this stud to the best advantage. I consulted Khoda Buksh Beg on the subject, who was accustomed to traffic in horses, and he persuaded me that my stud would sell well. Having no practice in such dealings, and no wish to enter into them, I entrusted the sale entirely to him. It went on, to appearance, prosperously, and most of my horses, but not all, were, as I supposed, sold, when one of my servants informed me that there was no fair sale, but that Khoda Buksh Beg had imposed my horses on several persons, and levied con-

siderable sums of money in my name, without any reference to the price of the horses.

"As soon as I received this intelligence, which I ascertained to be true, I recovered all the horses supposed to have been sold, and repaid the several parties the sums received by me as the purchase-money. I ordered the restoration, by Khoda Buksh Beg, of the sums which he had fraudulently obtained and appropriated. He was brought to trial for defrauding those who had been the sufferers by his imposture, and sentenced to imprisonment, with an order that he should not be released until he had disgorged all that he had levied. The discovery of this villany was so close upon the period fixed for my departure from Delhi, that I had scarcely time to take the requisite measures to repair the mischief perpetrated as far as it was in my power to do so."

CASE OF MOONSHEE HUFOOZOODEEN.

"The next assertion connected with my name is that my Moonshee, Hufoozoodeen, having accompanied me to and from Hyderabad, has retired with a fortune of about four lakhs of rupees. Moonshee Hufoozoodeen neither accompanied me to nor from Hyderabad, nor was he with me there at any time, and if he possesses anything that can be termed a fortune, it is unknown to me, and I am a great dupe, for he is at this moment in my service on an allowance which I give him solely because I believe that he needs it. . . . . I shall enter more fully into the history of Hufoozoodeen. His father was the Moonshee with whom I studied in College, and is still living. I read a little with the son (author, also, of a work used in the College for instruction), who was also a College Moonshee after I quitted College. When I was in Lord Lake's army in 1805, I sent for Hufoozoodeen, and entertained him in my service, in which he continued until I was sent on a mission to Lahore in 1808, when he became Moonshee of the Mission, having previously accompanied me, in 1806, on a mission to Holkar's camp, with which I was charged by Lord Lake, and having also performed public duties under me when I was attached, in 1805, in a political capacity, to a separate division of the army commanded by Major-General Dowdeswell. After the termination of the Lahore Mission, Hufoozoodeen was again my private servant until I became Resident at Delhi, in

1811. He was then appointed Head Moonshee at the Residency, and remained in that office until I quitted the Residency in 1818, when he also resigned his situation.

"Up to this period I had never received any complaint against him, and had no reason to suppose him guilty of any improper act whatever. I had never, however, doubted that a man in his situation was liable to strong temptation, and likely to yield to it. My conduct, therefore, towards him had always been regulated by caution, founded on that general distrust; and when I heard, after quitting Delhi, rumors of his having made money there, I was more sorry than surprised.

"The information was vague, and contained nothing positive or tangible. It, however, induced me to discontinue my connexion with him, until the suspicions which it created could be completely removed. I wrote to Mr. Fortescue, who was my successor in the civil administration of the Delhi territory, to request that he would inquire and ascertain what was alleged against the Moonshee; he replied that he could discover nothing specific against him; that he bore a good character; and was entirely acquitted of doing anything that the natives considered improper; but that he was supposed to have made money, some said by trade, others by the receipt of presents. This account did not satisfy me, because, if he had received presents unknown to me, he had acted faithlessly; and I continued to withhold my support, and had no intercourse with him.

"About two years afterwards I again wrote to Mr. Fortescue, who was still at Delhi, with a view to ascertain from him whether a longer residence had furnished him with more distinct information respecting the Moonshee's conduct, and I asked specifically whether, making the case his own, he would discharge a Moonshee of whom he had the same opinions which the result of his inquiries might have led him to entertain of Hufoozoodeen? His answer on that point was, that he should not discharge him. In other respects, it was much the same as before. I had still doubts as to the propriety of employing Hufoozoodeen, and, in fact, never did employ him either at Hyderabad, or during my last Residency at Delhi: but I was not, I confess, without suspicions that I had done him injustice, nor without consequent self-reproach.

"On my last return from Delhi to Calcutta he made his appearance, and seemed to be in reduced and impoverished circumstances. As I had ceased to hold that kind of public

employment in which a native Moonshee would have temptations to take presents; and as my information respecting Hufoozoodeen was, on the whole, creditable to him, I restored him to my private service, after a separation of nine years.

"This is the history of Hufoozoodeen, into which I have been led by a desire to leave nothing untold respecting a man who is said to have made a fortune of four lakhs at a place where the man never was."

CASE OF PEER ALEE, KHITMUDGAR.

"The Khitmudgar, Peer Alee, alluded to in the marginal extract, accompanied me to Hyderabad. He went with me in the pilot schooner which conveyed me to Masulipatam, and arrived, therefore, long before any of my other servants, who followed by land. I had avoided taking a Moonshee, as before mentioned, in order that there might be no corruption; but the Ministers and others at Hyderabad could not refrain from tampering with a single servant that accompanied the new Resident. In a few months after my arrival, I was informed by one of my assistants that this servant was receiving presents extensively. I requested the same gentleman, the late Mr. R. Wells, to investigate the matter. He did so; and although no specific instance could be established, he satisfied his own mind of the general truth of the imputation. I was sure that his decision was just. I could not make the man disgorge, because nothing was proved, and everything was denied. I discharged him from my service, and sent him out of the Nizam's dominions. Whatever he may have acquired in that way, he has since, I believe, in a great measure, squandered; and he is now living at his home on an allowance from me, which he receives because he was the person who discovered to me the iniquitous proceedings of Khoda Buksh Beg, before noticed."

VI.—(Page 471.)

[The following is the Address voted by the British Residents of Delhi, to which allusion is made at page 471.]

THE DELHI ADDRESS.

Dear Sir,—Were we to permit your departure, contemplated by us with deep regret, without expressing the vene-

ration and respect we entertain for your many personal excellences, we should do violence to our own feelings.

On this occasion, well aware as we are of your solicitude to shun the most just and measured commendation, we must entreat your permission to declare our sense of that exalted worth, that candor, and openness of heart which shine in all your words and actions, and which exact the highest esteem of all who have enjoyed the happiness of your society. Closely connected with these traits of character are, that condescension to all subordinate to your authority, which rendered business a pleasure to those who transacted it under your guidance, and that judgment, firmness, and rectitude, which gave satisfaction to all whose affairs were confided to your decision.

Whilst, however, we contemplate with unfeigned regret your approaching departure, we should deem ourselves deficient in sentiments of public spirit did the loss we are about to sustain so entirely engross our thoughts that we should neglect the opportunity, which your removal from this Residency to fill an honorable and important office near the person of the Governor-General of India affords us, of soliciting your favorable acceptance of our sincere congratulation on the distinguished choice of his Excellency. This selection, by so able a judge of character and merit as the Marquis of Hastings, is to us a sure indication of the extent and importance of the services which have been rendered to Government by the exertion of your talents and virtues; and we cannot, we think, utter a wish which evinces in us a stronger desire for the prosperity of our Eastern possessions, than that you may long continue to aid the councils of British India.

To give this address, however, a more private and particular application, and to do which we are forcibly called by a recurrence to the regretted occasion of our meeting, we beg to assure you that no period of time can efface the sentiments of friendship and affectionate attachment imprinted on our minds by the urbanity, kindness, and marked attention to private rights and feelings, which we have invariably experienced at your hands; and that we shall feel, to the latest moments of our existence, the deepest interest in every event which may be connected with your welfare, happiness, and fame.

METCALFE'S REPLY.

My dear Friends,—I am at a loss for language to express in adequate terms my sense of the kindness which has

led you to give expression to the sentiments conveyed in the communication this day received from you. I shall ever remember with lively gratitude the honor which you have thus conferred upon me, nor is the value of this delightful testimony of your regard lessened in my estimation by the consciousness which I feel that I am indebted to it entirely to your indulgent partiality, which has thrown my faults into oblivion, and exalted the little merit to which I may have any pretensions.

The record of your approbation will ever be a source of pride and exultation to me, and furnish during my future life a strong excitement to laudable exertion, from the anxious desire which it must produce that I may not at any time do discredit to the opinion which you have had the goodness to express.

The thanks I owe you are not confined to the present occasion. The obliging attention, cordiality, and friendship, which I have always experienced from you in official as well as social intercourse, have made an indelible impression on me; and though highly sensible of the gracious and condescending favor of the Governor-General in calling me to a situation near his own person, I cannot part without deep regret from a society to which I have so much reason to be warmly attached. I trust, however, that our intercourse is only suspended, and that I may have the pleasure of renewing it with most, if not all of you, in some of the various scenes of life in which we may be respectively summoned to take a part. With most hearty wishes for your prosperity and happiness, and a grateful recollection of all your kindness, I shall ever remain,

My dear Sirs,

Your sincere and affectionate friend,

C. T. METCALFE.

[I cannot do better than append to the above manifestation of the affection with which Metcalfe was regarded by the European inhabitants of Delhi, the following passages from letters which indicate the feelings of the native community.]

Extract from a Private Letter from Major-General Sir David Ochterlony to Mr. Metcalfe, dated the 22nd December, 1818.

" If you had known how much and how generally your departure would have been mourned, you never could have left Delhi; but your humility never gave you a just idea of your value, and I shall have much to do, much to change in my

habits and temper, and much to perform, before I shall be able to reconcile the palace, the city, or the European society, to the great loss they have sustained. I appreciate their feelings justly, and, if there is in it a spark of envy or jealousy, I hope it will only produce a flame of emulation to imitate your virtues."

From the Same.

"I enclose a Razee Nameh. Were you to receive one from all whose inclination would prompt it, I should have transmissions from the whole city. You have no idea of the attachment they felt for you. It cannot be doubted when expressed to me, for they do not usually deal in those articles to a present incumbent when speaking of a predecessor."

Extract from a Letter from Mr. Wilder, Ajmere, 5th April, 1819.

"Several people from Delhi have come here since you went away; and it would really do your heart good to hear them speak of the impression of love and respect you have left behind. I never thought before that the natives possessed such feelings; but I do believe that the sorrow they express for your departure is sincere, and that it will never be effaced."

END OF VOL. I.

C. WHITING, BEAUFORT HOUSE, STRAND.